

PROVING PROBATION



1928

PROCEEDINGS

of the

NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION



370 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

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FOR THE READER'S INFORMATION

Probation is in reality a bureau of vocational guidance for boys and girls, men and women who have broken some of the laws of the community in which they live. Probation seeks to change the habits of these law offenders and guide them until they have found themselves and are able to work out their own problems more satisfactorily. The National Probation Association invites all who are concerned or interested in the improvement of probation and social court work to become members of the Association. Members receive the Annual Proceedings of the Association, the monthly Bulletin, and other publications issued from time to time. They are kept constantly informed of the progress of probation work.

MEMBERSHIP DUES

The minimum fee for membership is \$2.00 a year; for contributing membership, \$5.00; supporting membership, \$10.00; sustaining membership, \$25.00; patron membership, \$100.00; and life membership, \$1,000.00.

The Association is supported by membership dues and by contributions. Large contributions are required to meet the many needs and requests for assistance. Such gifts to the Association are deducted from income tax returns in accordance with the provisions of Section 214 of the Revenue Act of 1924.

Address the
NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION, INC.
370 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y.

Make checks payable to Henry deForest Baldwin, Treasurer.

Oh, how I wish some cold wise man
Would dig beneath the surface which you scrape,
Deal with the depths, pronounce on my desert
Groundedly! I want simple sober sense,
That asks, before it finishes with a dog,
Who taught the dog that trick you hang him for?
You both persist to call that act a crime,
Which sense would call . . . yes, I maintain it, Sirs, . . .
A blunder! At the worst, I stood in doubt
On crossroad, took one path of many paths:
It leads to the red thing, we all see now,
But nobody saw at first: one primrose-patch
In bank, one singing-bird in bush, the less,
Had warned me from such wayfare: let me prove!
Put me back to the crossroad, start afresh!
Advise me when I take the first false step!

—Robert Browning in *"The Ring and the Book."*

INTRODUCING THE PROCEEDINGS TO YOU

Each year after the Annual Conference of the National Probation Association it is the custom to put in print the addresses and comments which have been made at this time. This year the program of the Association covered a wide range of interest. For those interested in boys' work or girls' work; in juvenile court methods; in domestic relations courts; in solving the problems of crime; in psychological methods of diagnosis; in the growth of probation work; in the newest methods in probation and court work; in gathering material from experts in various fields,—the Proceedings provides a wealth of information. In reality it represents a laboratory in which one may walk and view the most interesting experiments in the world as they are in progress.

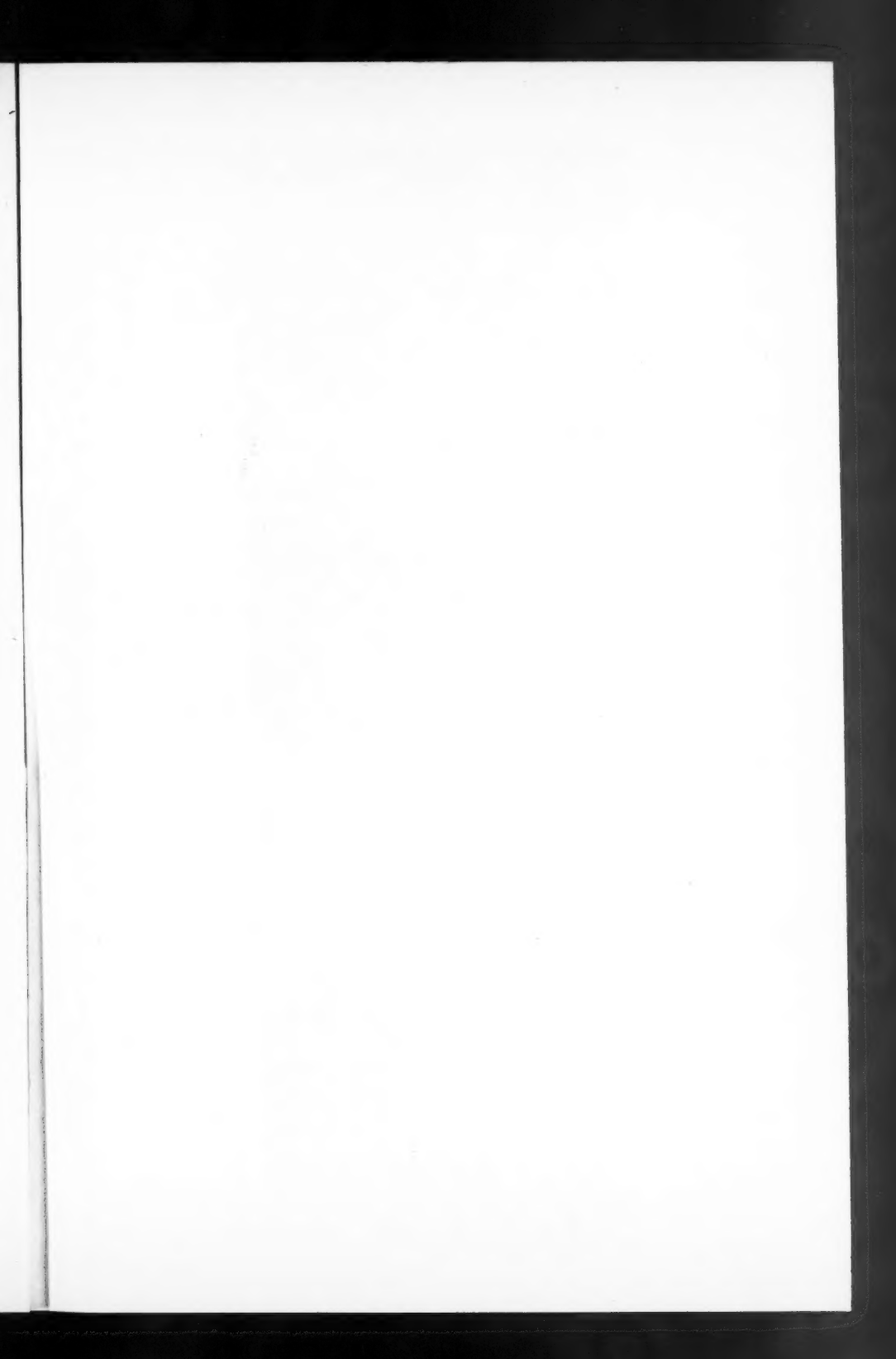
An alphabetical index makes the volume available for ready reference.

The National Probation Association expresses its sincere gratitude to all the contributors who have made the Proceedings of this year so valuable and interesting.

CHARLES L. CHUTE, General Secretary

FORM OF BEQUEST

I devise and bequeath to the National Probation Association, incorporated under Article Three of the Membership Corporations Law of the State of New York, to be applied to the benevolent uses and purposes of said Association and under its direction (Here insert description of the money or property given).





Delegates to the Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the National Probation Association,
Memphis, Tennessee, April 30th to May 2nd, 1928.

Table of Contents

	PAGE
For the Reader's Information.....	3
Introducing the Proceedings.....	5
Opening Address—Hon. Watkins Overton.....	9
BOYS' WORK	
Court and Pre-Court Work with Boys—Judge W. S. Criswell.....	202
An Experiment in Treatment of the Predelinquent Boy—Max W. West...	206
Off Beaten Paths with the Problem Boy—Harrison A. Dobbs.....	216
CASE WORK	
Adult Probation Cases:	
1. George Wood—Edwin J. Cooley.....	251
2. Robert White—Edward P. Volz.....	296
Discussion	306
3. Mary—Mrs. Kathleen J. Lowrie.....	312
Juvenile Probation Cases:	
1. A Boy Delinquent in the Boston Juvenile Court—Mrs. Marjorie Bell..	319
2. Mary Manley—Edith Dopp.....	326
3. The Stewart Twins—A. W. Cline.....	334
4. Julia A—Jessie H. Mahan.....	338
COURT CLINICS	
Adjusting Treatment to Diagnosis—Dr. Frank J. O'Brien.....	186
CRIME AND ITS PREVENTION	
Community Responsibility for Delinquency—Jessie F. Binford.....	124
Old Crime and New Methods of Dealing with It—Judge Herbert G. Cochran.	62
Discussion	100
The Young Offender and the Adult—Rhea K. Boardman.....	135
DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURTS	
The Child, The Family and The Court—Katharine F. Lenroot.....	102
The Organization of Domestic Relations Courts—Judge Charles W. Hoffman.	145
A Report of the Committee on Domestic Relations Courts—	
Mary E. McChristie.....	152
Discussion	158
Some Fundamental Causes of Family Disruption—Jessie P. Condit.....	89
Discussion	100

JUVENILE COURTS

PAGE

Juvenile Court Problems of the Smaller Cities of Tennessee—	
Florida Ringgold.....	179
The Rational Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency—	
Judge Charles W. Hoffman.....	361
Report on Progress of the Children's Bureau Plan for Uniform Juvenile Court	
Statistics—Alice Scott Nutt.....	168
Training for Families—Bernard J. Fagan.....	161

GIRLS WORK

The Missing Girl—Rhoda J. Milliken.....	225
Placement of the Girl in Industry—Mrs. Addie F. Sortor.....	232
Use of an Advisory Group in Court Work with Girls—	
Mrs. Lillian P. McDermott.....	235
Discussion.....	239
What is Failure and What is Success?—Mary E. McChristie.....	242
Discussion.....	246

THE NEGRO

The Negro Boy—Rev. T. O. Fuller.....	342
The Negro Today—Rev. Sutton Griggs.....	352

PROBATION

Developments in the Probation Field—Charles L. Chute.....	14
A Federal Judge's View of Probation—Judge Harry B. Anderson.....	379
Fifty Years of Probation—Herbert C. Parsons.....	52
The Importance of Probation—Judge Charles W. Hoffman.....	11
Probation at the Crossroads—Judge Frank Murphy.....	24
Discussion.....	34
Probation Needs in the South—C. C. Menzler.....	55
Proven Values of Probation—Judge Cyrus E. Pattee.....	58
Selection and Training of Probation Officers—Philip A. Parsons.....	37

REPORTS

Annual Report of the National Probation Association (1927-28).....	383
By-Laws.....	399
Minutes of Business.....	397
Officers and Board.....	401
Report of the Committee on Runaway Children—Nannie Oppenheimer.....	381
Reports of Group Discussions.....	381
Resolutions Adopted.....	398
Special Committees.....	403
Treasurer's Report.....	395

ANNUAL CONFERENCE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

Memphis, Tennessee

Opening Address

The Honorable Watkins Overton

Mayor of Memphis

We are glad to welcome conventions to Memphis. We are particularly glad to welcome this convention because we feel it will mean much to our city. We welcome you because we know you are giving your time, your energy and your ability to solving one of the great problems confronting the American people.

There is no greater work than probation. We all appreciate the fact that the more intense living becomes, the more inventions there are, the more complex our civilization grows—the greater are the problems which confront the boys and girls in our American homes.

Some people feel that all cities in America are alike—crowded streets, many automobiles, a few policemen, large buildings, and some beautiful parks. We believe that each city like each individual has a different personality, and trust that while you are here you will try to get a little of the spirit and personality of Memphis. We are a southern city, in the heart of the greatest valley in the world—the Mississippi. We are located on a bluff which was once the home of the Chickasaw Indians. Not far from this spot De Soto first looked upon the Mississippi River. Later the French came and built a fort for military conquests. This

fort has long since gone; the ambition that went with its building has failed also. Later the Spaniards came and built a fort. They wanted to lay the foundations for a great military empire. Not a sign of this fort is left today. Then came a little band of Anglo-Saxons from the East. They built homes instead of a fort. These homes remain in Memphis and their number increases each year.

Our city has had a struggle. It has had to withstand the attacks of the Indians, and even worse attacks of yellow fever which disease has more than once depopulated the city in the past. Our people, however, believed in homes and came back. They fought the Civil War. Their belief in Memphis as a city of homes continued. We have builded a city of which we are proud out of the struggles of the people who came with the idea of making a city where men and women could live happily together.

We hope you will visit our juvenile court so ably presided over by Judge Camille Kelley. We want you to look beyond records and systems and see the effect that the work is having upon the faces and souls of the boys and girls in Memphis. There is a place for records but the greatest records are the ones written upon the lives of children.

The Importance of Probation

A Reply to the Mayor of Memphis' Official Welcome

The Honorable Charles W. Hoffman

Judge, Court of Domestic Relations, Cincinnati, Ohio

A common spirit of goodwill and understanding in the pursuit of ways and means for social betterment—forms the keynote of this convention. We are here for a definite purpose. We are here to join hands with the South in the endeavor to do something for the cause of human welfare. At this time in our development, this purpose is insistent and important. This Association stands for a principle; it stands for a cause, possibly the most important principle and cause promoted by any institution in this country.

There have been great changes in the mechanical and physical world within the last twenty-five years. The radio has come and we can talk around the world. We have realized the aspiration of the ages and can fly. We have inventions that have changed the whole aspect of the physical world. Along with these inventions and discoveries our mode of behavior has changed. Notwithstanding all the inventions which have been added to the complexity of life, and the credit we must award to those who have contributed so greatly to our material welfare and comfort, it is apparent to us that human progress in the final analysis depends on the discoveries and inventions, if we may so term them, in psychic and social realms. He who conceived the principle of the workman's compensation act accomplished as much for mankind as he who conceived the radio or some other mechanical invention. He who conceived the mothers' pension act became a benefactor of the race. It was a great invention, or discovery, which has done as much possibly, for mankind as any other agency.

It is quite possible, too, that as a nation we have not yet comprehended the significance of that social invention or discovery known as the juvenile court. It is an institution, embodying the finest elements of humanity. It finds expression in a statute that one judge says is the greatest since that of Magna Charta signed by King John on the plains of Runnymede.

At the basis of all these social institutions so great in their potentialities for human happiness, there is the principle of probation. The essence of probation is helpfulness—the adjustment of the individual to his peculiar situation in life. Probation is not vindictive. It is charitable in all its implications. Its aim is to save those upon whom the burdens of life bear heavily and who without help and guidance might be lost. Had it not been for the existence of probation for some twenty years previous to the year 1899, and had other states and communities not followed the lead of Massachusetts in probation, we would have had no juvenile courts today. Probation suggested the idea of eliminating the criminal process in the treatment of children. Our courts of domestic relations have no other platform than that the same beneficent principle be widened so as to permit its application in all matters of family disorganization or disintegration. Were it not that today probation is accepted as a sound and sane juridical policy, there would be no accredited approach to the solution of the problem of crime of which we hear so much in our civic life.

It is impossible to work along any other line today than that of discovering the origin and the causes of antisocial conduct in all its relationships. There is no way in which this problem may be approached except through the processes suggested by probation. Whatever the term may mean, it requires a positive definition, and a clear stating of objectives. Fundamentally probation means the rehabilitation of boys and girls, the rehabilitation of men and women

and the adjustment of each in adverse conditions in all phases of life.

The one outstanding accomplishment incident to the use of probation in children's cases is that the childhood of our country, except in jurisdictions where probation does not obtain, is no longer endangered and jeopardized.

Developments in the Probation Field

Charles L. Chute

General Secretary, National Probation Association

Fifty years ago this year the first probation law in the world was enacted in the State of Massachusetts. It is fitting that we should mark the anniversary at this national gathering of probation workers, judges, and exponents of the socially organized court. The enactment of this law marked an epoch. It was inevitable that the probation system, or something like it, should come. The social worker had already found his place in the courts, assisting officially in the disposition of children's cases in New York, Massachusetts, and other states. Modification of rigid criminal laws in the interests of humane treatment had come in through the use of suspended sentence and bench parole, but the American probation system might not have developed, or might have been delayed much longer but for the pioneer work of those who framed that first law in 1878.

It is not my purpose to review the many developments in this field following that first beginning. I am to deal with recent advances, and these have been many and striking. By so doing, I shall endeavor to present the situation in the field of probation and social court work as it exists today and point out the greater future that lies ahead. A rapid review, however, may be given you of the principal mileposts in the development of our profession. The first Massachusetts law, although applying to only one city, was a complete enabling act providing entire discretion to the courts in using the probation system, creating a full time paid probation officer, authorizing him to make investigations and recommendations, with an annual report to a state authority. The next important step was the extension

of the law to the entire state with the provision, in which Massachusetts has always led, that every court must have a paid probation officer. This was in 1880. Not until fourteen years later did another state, Maryland, enact a probation law which was followed by Vermont, Rhode Island, and other states in rapid succession. The development of juvenile courts and probation legislatively, outside of Massachusetts, has practically all come within the last twenty-nine years—a very short time for such a fundamental change in judicial procedure in so many jurisdictions. All states except Wyoming have now adopted juvenile probation, and thirty-three states and the District of Columbia now have adult probation laws. And the development is still on. One state was added to the adult probation list last year,—West Virginia.

The Laws First

Unfortunately, much of this development of probation has been the enactment of laws rather than the establishment of adequate machinery. Naturally, the laws have come first. In most states the laws today are fairly adequate, but in no state is the administration complete. The work has developed unevenly and without standards. Only nine states, in my estimation, can be said to have statewide systems of adult as well as juvenile probation—Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Some of the other states have fairly complete systems of juvenile courts, but have made little progress in the equally important field of probation for adults.

The development of juvenile courts, beginning in 1899 in Illinois, and the later development of domestic relations courts, beginning in Buffalo in 1909, have contributed immeasurably to the extension of probation. The later development of state supervising commissions or bureaus, beginning in New York in 1907, and now established in nineteen

states, although limited and inadequate in many of these states, has perhaps done more to develop statewide probation extension than any other one factor.

The organization of the National Probation Association on a working basis in 1921 and the enactment of the first probation law for Federal Courts in 1925 have added impetus to the movement to make probation a national service with adequate paid staffs in every city and county.

Following the earlier movement for the extension of probation by getting the system established legislatively, there has developed in the last few years the movement to make probation a real system, to establish good methods and professional standards, to make it a part and an important part in the machinery for discriminating justice and crime prevention. Not discounting the importance of the pioneer work and not failing to give credit and high praise to the noble men and women who have toiled, usually without adequate compensation, tools or backing, to bring in individualized justice and to help thousands of unhappy, unadjusted men, women and little children; I think we can truly say that probation work in this country has entered upon a new era in the last few years, and, I think, in no period has there been greater forward steps taken than in the year just past. It is of these advances that I shall speak.

Outstanding Events

The outstanding events may be classified under the headings: new legislation, improved administration, and the awakening of public support and appreciation of the vital need for understanding the offender and treating him with early reformatory care outside the institution.

Last year, 1927, laws extending or improving the administration of probation were enacted in twenty states. As stated, one state, West Virginia, adopted adult probation for the first time, but although the bill provided a complete system like that of the Federal Courts, the legislature limited

the law to misdemeanors and provided no paid officers.

In another state, Arizona, probation officers for adults were provided for the first time. Five counties were authorized to appoint officers at salaries of \$2,400. The law applies to all offenses except those punishable by death or life imprisonment.

In California the adult probation law was re-written and strengthened. An interesting provision is that a jail sentence may be used as a preliminary to probation with the provision that probation may be accompanied by fines, restitution and "placement at public work or regular employment." Salaries of probation officers were increased. Adult probation boards to nominate officers were provided for all counties.

In Indiana, as a result of a campaign by the National Probation Association, a new adult probation law was passed. The criminal courts for the first time were authorized to appoint paid probation officers. The provision placing probationers in the control of penal institutions, under suspension of the execution of sentence, to be looked after very ineffectively by parole officers of the institutions, was repealed, Indiana being the last state to have such a provision, and the judges of all criminal, municipal and police courts were authorized to appoint as many probation officers as they need and to fix their salaries not to exceed \$2,500. In only three other states is this mandatory power to determine the number and salaries of officers conferred on judges.

A law providing probation officers in one of the large adult courts in St. Louis was passed. The provision was inserted that appointments are to be on merit after a competitive examination.

A new juvenile court was established by law in Greenville County, South Carolina. The movement for establishing domestic relations courts with juvenile jurisdiction or for adding domestic relations jurisdiction to juvenile

courts, seems to be advancing steadily. In Alabama a new combined juvenile and domestic relations court was established in Tuscaloosa County. In Mobile and Montgomery counties the juvenile courts were given jurisdiction over adults charged with non-support and desertion. In two more Ohio counties, containing the cities of Columbus and Canton, domestic relations courts with juvenile and divorce jurisdiction were created, making nine now organized. In Connecticut an amendment made possible the establishment of juvenile courts in all parts of the state. In Michigan juvenile courts were given jurisdiction of wayward minors from 17 to 21 years of age. In several states the number and salaries of probation officers in juvenile courts were increased. In Texas an amendment made possible at least one paid probation officer in every county.

Crime Wave Agitation

Without any doubt many of these laws improving probation administration would not have come without the crime wave agitation and the aroused public interest in crime prevention evidenced by the creation of crime commissions in many states. On the other hand, in two states, only, these same forces brought about restriction in the use of probation while at the same time improving its administration. In California persons convicted a second time of felony were forbidden probation. In Michigan probation was forbidden for a number of serious offenses including second conviction of felony.

This year, 1928, only nine legislatures have met and returns are not yet all in. The indications are that in only one state, New York, have important changes in probation laws been made. Here the advances have been very notable and are directly due to the conversion of a state crime commission, no other than the famous Baumes Commission, responsible for the drastic Baumes laws. Persuasive pressure brought to bear within and without the Commission

induced even this supposedly hard-boiled body to include in its program measures for improving probation and parole. This was not done without a struggle in which social workers especially probation officers, the State Probation Commission and the National Probation Association played their parts. The result? A provision to limit the courts in using probation was killed and three important measures became law:

(1) Increasing the powers and staff of the State Probation Division, now a part of the State Department of Correction; (2) Raising the qualifications for probation officers, providing that hereafter they must be high school graduates; that cases must be investigated before being placed on probation; (3) Giving power to judges in four county courts to appoint and fix salaries of probation officers.

Advanced probation legislation was introduced in New Jersey, but postponed till next year. In Massachusetts legislation to limit probation was killed in committee.

Administrative Developments

So much for legislation. This indicates continued interest in extending the work and especially a desire to go as far as possible (in New York state very far indeed) in requiring better methods and better administration. But more encouraging and important have been the administrative developments of the past year or more.

First, a constantly increasing number of probation officers and increasing salaries. The new National Directory of Probation Officers shows 3702 probation officers. Six years ago there were 2658, more than 1000 less. Volunteers have been replaced by paid officers in many jurisdictions. Still the number of officers is inadequate in most courts because the use of probation tends to increase faster than the staff. A recent compilation of probation officers' salaries shows an encouraging climb. In the cities salaries average somewhere around \$2,000, but in the larger cities, salaries of

\$2,500 are common. In New York city, Newark and Boston \$3,000 salaries are paid to rank and file officers. Some of us can remember when the standard salary of a probation officer was \$1,200.

The necessity for salaries for chief probation officers commensurate with salaries paid to heads of other city departments or large private agencies, has been at last recognized. New York city, two counties in New Jersey, Boston and Detroit have measured up in this regard.

Noteworthy Records

I shall refer to a few outstanding local advances: The remarkable development in the General Sessions Court, New York. You have all heard of Mr. Cooley's work there. From a staff of seven or eight privately paid officers without adequate supervision, after a two-year demonstration of what could be done with a well-manned and highly organized staff for the Catholic cases, an adequate staff was secured by the city. This staff numbered 31 officers last year and was increased this year to 43. Many of the officers are college graduates with special training or experience in social work. There is a supervisor of investigation and a supervisor of case work. Every case is investigated thoroughly after conviction. Nearly all cases are given psychiatric examination. It is hoped to add a complete clinic to the probation department this year. Case supervision is intense and effective. Records, equipment, cooperation and *esprit de corps* are well nigh perfect. Such a demonstration even though it covers but one court is and will increasingly become an aid to securing high standard probation work everywhere in the country.

In Rhode Island (Little Rhodie) a remarkable achievement in probation organization has occurred. Under a law passed in 1926, a full time able chief probation officer for the state was appointed. Mr. William J. Harper, with the support of his state welfare commission has done won-

ders. First, he removed nearly all the probation officers, many of whom were part time workers, or incompetents. He established the principle of competitive examinations and appointed a new staff. He has introduced good records, reports and statistics. He has brought probation once more into high repute. But of course, he has met some political opposition.

In Connecticut, the National Probation Association has been conducting city surveys. Progress has been slow but several new officers have been added and there is increased interest throughout the state. An excellent juvenile court and detention building has been built in Hartford.

In Buffalo, N. Y., six new probation officers have been added to the county staff, with increased salaries for all the officers.

In New Jersey additional officers and increased salaries have come this year in the two larger counties. The importing of Joseph P. Murphy, with long and successful experience as chief probation officer in another state to head the work in the largest county has done more to tone up and strengthen the probation system, not only in that county but throughout the state, than any other factor.

A legislative commission to study the needs of probation and juvenile courts was secured last year largely through the efforts of Percy C. Sharpley, Chief Probation Officer at Jersey City. Under the auspices of the Commission a state-wide survey of probation in each of the twenty-one New Jersey counties was recently completed by the National Probation Association staff. As a result, bills to revise the adult probation and juvenile court laws were introduced in the legislature, but more education and organization will be necessary to get them through and to establish needed state supervision.

In Pennsylvania a state survey of probation in which the Association assisted revealed great needs, but no effective steps, such as the establishment of needed state aid and

supervision, have yet been taken. In Pittsburgh, a detailed study and report on the juvenile court, made by the Association at the request of the judges and council of social agencies, has resulted in real improvements. A new trained chief probation officer has come in, children no longer are being taken to the police station and tried in a police court, and a new detention home is promised.

Time forbids the giving of details from other states. It may be added that one of the most encouraging movements is the development of the county welfare plan with paid workers, mostly well trained women, doing excellent probation work under county welfare boards and state supervision. Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas and North Carolina are developing this system, adding new counties each year. This year in Alabama the State Board of Education is appropriating \$134,000 to be used \$2,000 to a county for joint attendance and probation officers under the County Child Welfare Board Act.

In Los Angeles a determined effort is being made to improve probation work. The National Probation Association is now making a survey of the juvenile court. The famous Hickman case has prompted the demand for this investigation, showing how good may sometimes grow out of evil.

In Indiana the state probation officer is doing yeoman's work in advertising probation and organizing new counties under the juvenile court law so that now nearly every county is covered.

In Baltimore, following a thorough survey by the National Probation Association, the judges of the Supreme Bench have agreed to re-organize the probation department which serves all adult courts in Baltimore. They have asked for a modest appropriation from the city, but have been refused. The necessity is now seen for more public education on the subject.

In Ohio, progress has been slow but sure under the adult

probation law enacted in 1925. To date, thirteen counties have appointed probation officers and a well organized probation department is to be established shortly in Cincinnati, an appropriation of \$30,000 having been allowed. The State Welfare Department, charged with supervising and extending probation and prescribing qualifications for probation officers, has been active and is at present conducting regional conferences throughout the state, considering probation needs.

The Goal

I have touched only on the major advances in the probation work of this country. I might add many significant local details. Many are encouraging, but not all. I have referred to a few of the difficulties. Progress has been made, real progress, but we have a long way to go. The public as yet does not even recognize standard work, much less demand it. Most probation work, especially with adults, is undermanned, unstandardized, largely police surveillance. Appointment for merit and ability is not yet even common. Politics, the bane of public service, still reminds one of the old saw, 'you're damned if you do (use it), and damned if you don't.' Probation officers still must steer a careful course, sometimes must use politics, but not be used by it and, of course, aim at the complete elimination of political interference. We should increasingly direct our propaganda, our educational work, to the lawyers who become the judges, and to the thinking public who govern in the long run public service appropriation.

"To blaze new trails, away from the beaten path which has deepened from much treading until it has become a veritable rut, requires a strong, motivating impulse." And that impulse is love of one's fellow-man, a keen desire for achievement of that greatest good and highest satisfaction that can come to any of us, to truly serve mankind and do our full part to bring in the better race and better world that is to be.

Probation at the Crossroads

The Honorable Frank Murphy
Judge, Recorder's Court, Detroit, Michigan

I esteem it a privilege to be bidden today to the Conference of the National Probation Association. The aspect of crass materialism which almost blankets the social order is less drab, less bleak, less repelling because of the humanitarian urge arising from the labors and sacrifices of far-visioned men and women, working with stout hearts and unfaltering purpose to redeem and recall the wayward to the path of wholesome social conduct through the probation system. The nation's richest resources are its healthy and happy men and women. It is freshening to observe quiet and inconspicuous inquiry to better their lot.

Stock Taking

While we may properly indulge in congratulation and elation over the progress of the probation idea, it is wise to take stock of all the known facts of the present situation: for, it is only on the calm analysis of impartial facts that real probation may be made secure. Thomas Carlyle aptly named those who had a flair for reality the "Sons of Fact." Let me invite you to join this brotherhood for a brief space, and inquire whether or not the probation idea is not at this very hour in grave peril, and what steps prudence dictates should be taken by its friends and well wishers to ward off the impending danger. Forewarned is forearmed. None are so blind as those who refuse to see. Let us look, at the current status of the probation idea in its relation to social currents which are abroad in this country today. It is rather a good thing to maintain a friendly relationship with facts.

What is the outstanding fact of present-day penology?

The paramount problem of the hour, in this country at least—is the growth of crime. No evil so menaces our national life, so wastes our national substance, so smirches our national escutcheon as the appalling and ever increasing total of law violations and law violators. Respect for law—the very foundation of a stable social order—is daily and almost hourly, becoming more and more a lost or dead sentiment. Confidence in the official life of the country—so necessary to the sound and progressive functioning of government—is tottering.

Our Crime Needs

In 1923 there were 375,000 persons committed to jails or penitentiaries, according to a report of the Bureau of Census, and the report adds significantly that "this is only a fraction of the full number of offenders." It has been estimated that, in that year, one person in every 53 of the entire population committed offenses which were deserving under the law of a jail or prison sentence. In 1925, there were more than 23 times as many murders per unit of population in the United States as in England. Pittsburgh alone had as many murders as all England; St. Louis, more than England and Wales; and these cities are not more sinning than others. The murder rate per thousand people in this country is twice as great now as in 1900. In burglary, highway robbery, and other violent crimes we lead all the world. The most disturbing fact about it all is the unending and ever steady increase in law violation, per unit of population, during the past few years. When we are tempted to boast of the financial, economic, industrial, agrarian leadership of our country, let us not blink at the unpleasant truth that the almost universal lawlessness in this land of ours is both a national disgrace and a national menace.

One cannot begin to calculate, or even estimate, the staggering total of economic and moral loss involved in the growth of crime. Of the direct and measurable cost, we can get some faint idea from the fact that the expense of

maintaining our public custodial institutions is about one-sixth of the total revenues of all the states; and, in Massachusetts and New York, it is about one-third of those revenues. This does not include the large sums spent by federal, county, and municipal governments for custodial institutions, nor the lavish private contributions to charitable agencies dealing with the problem. Various public officials and statisticians have attempted to approximate the annual cost of crime. These estimates range from three and a half billion dollars to twenty billion dollars annually. A detailed and careful estimate made by Mark O. Prentiss totals an item of thirteen billion dollars. "The economic cost of crime to this country," states Mr. Prentiss, "exceeds the total war debts. Every year the United States loses more money in its war on crime than the eleven billion dollars advanced to Europe during and since the war." The great industrial cities of the United States stagger under the burden of maintaining courts, police and corrective institutions; a cost so huge that almost any other municipal expenditure appears modest.

No attempt will be made here to suggest the appalling total of intangible losses from the growth of crime. The wasted lives of individual offenders, who, from being economic assets and productive factors in our social life, are changed to liabilities; the staggering outlays of money for the detection, detention and punishment of law violators; the penury of families whose breadwinner falls within the toils of the criminal law; the breaking down of the moral fibre even of the law-abiding, by contemplation of, and intimate contact with, flamboyant law breaking on every hand; the general contempt for law and order that, like an insidious plague, saps the virtue and will to do right of the whole nation, and particularly of the adolescent; these are some of the intangible and incalculable burdens and losses by which the social order daily pays for widespread lawlessness.

A Challenge to Lawlessness

What is the natural and logical reaction of the public mind to this condition? With civilized society, as with the individuals who compose it, self-preservation is the first law of nature. A social order so lacking in spirit or intelligence as to tamely submit to its own destruction is not worth saving; a social order so supine or indifferent to its own welfare as to sense no peril, experience no alarm, feel no shame, and voice no protest to this condition will not and does not deserve to survive. It is gratifying, therefore, to note that the challenge to lawlessness has been taken up by the lovers of orderly society everywhere; that the aroused and informed intelligence and quickened conscience of the people have been busy in mobilizing public opinion to a realization of the acuteness of the problem of crime and the necessity of coping with it effectively, vigorously and at once. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; liberty is the right to possess and enjoy one's own, and to pursue one's own happiness and development, molesting no one and unmolested. Crime crushes liberty. Crime, with the insecurity to citizens that attends it, is liberty's most arrogant and lethal foe. Against crime, therefore, eternal vigilance of public opinion and public conscience must stand at arms by night and by day in ceaseless, fervent vigil. We may properly rejoice in the evidence on all hands of an aroused public opinion and incensed public conscience concerning the problem of crime, demanding that legislators, police, prosecutors, the courts and all public authority summon the best in them in vigorous intelligence to curb lawlessness. We need not fear discussion; we might properly fear its suppression. Let us have more and more discussion, diagnosis, suggestion of the treatment of the evil and firm action based upon quiet analysis of impartial facts. There should be such healthy discussion of the situation that every right thinking man and woman in all the land will realize that crime is his problem, her problem; his foe, her foe; his

curse, her curse. I realize fully that out of this welter of discussion the wise and the foolish, the intemperate and the moderate, the dogmatic and the tolerant, the confusing and the illuminating, will emerge. Many words, best unsaid, will be said. Honest motives will be questioned. Candid beliefs will be scoffed at. The good and true will often suffer unjustly. Such is the story of every revolution of human thought. The march of the human race is wet with tears.

The Nation-wide Crusade

Recognizing, therefore, that the nation-wide crusade against crime is, in the main, wholesome, desirable and commendable, may I suggest that it will be most effective if its course is marked with deliberate wisdom, with constructive thought, rather than with vengeful passion. I recognize the fact that it is but natural for society, as for an individual, to obey its first impulse and strike out at its assailant. Already in the discussion of the diagnosis and treatment of crime, we hear betimes the raucous voice of passion above the clear, calm voice of reason. The demand for the general restoration of capital punishment, for the return of the whipping post, for the mischievous and harmful limitation of judicial discretion in imposing sentence; all are phases of the unreasoning clamor for the punitive administration of criminal justice. Reformatory justice is getting scant hearing in this fury and turmoil of passionate protest. He who raises his voice for moderation and deliberation, for fully weighed and exhaustively considered study of the problem is lucky if he gets off with only the brand of the underworld affixed to him; if he seeks for a sane and permanent cure of the evil through carefully reasoned processes; if he seeks the root causes of unsocial conduct at the cradle rather than at the end of a sordid life's story; or interests himself in the contributing causes in the social and economic order, he is dubbed a sentimentalist, an extremist, or worse.

The Attack on the Parole System

One of the outstanding features of the current discussion is the cynical intemperate, rage blind onslaught on the parole system as applied to prison inmates. This system was devised primarily to eliminate the hopelessness of prison life. It goes without saying that, while in many cases it has worked for good, in many cases it has worked for evil, and these latter are the ones the world hears about. There is no sensational news in a paroled man going straight; hence his life story, however socially beneficial it may be, is hushed in silence. But the paroled man who fails to make good is fine copy; and so, there has been spread abroad through the land a none too subtle propaganda that crime is the child of the parole system. As stated before, the parole system, like many other good things, has suffered gross abuse. It has in cases been made the football of politics; the cold, clear atmosphere of science and intelligence has been altogether too distant from it; it has been the hunting ground of vulturous lawyers, seeking executive clemency for their clients in order to line their own purses; often it has been applied stupidly by boards of political henchmen, instead of scientifically trained experts in social study, with the tragic result that, in many states, it is now considered a counsel of odium to exercise executive clemency by way of parole. In other words, the good it has done finds no voice anywhere. Its blunders are heralded to the four winds. Is it any wonder that, in the proper and desirable discussion of crime, the intrusion of passion and vengeance and hostility to constructive reform single out the parole system as a vulnerable point of attack. It would be surprising if it were not assailed.

Avoiding Pitfalls

And this leads me to the heart of my theme. In the welter of emotional explosions, irrational invective and unreasoning hysteria which precludes calm discussion, silent

inquiry and well weighed reasoning upon the facts, in all probability the probation idea will shortly meet the same onslaught of hostile and uninformed criticism. Indeed, there are already distinct rumblings of ill-concealed antagonism to the extension of the probation system and its application. These cannot be ignored with prudence. They must be appraised, reasoned with, and met with a candid, moderate and unassailable array of facts. The future of the probation system in this country rests with itself. I bespeak, therefore, a quiet and serious consideration of a plan of campaign that will firmly intrench the probation system in public confidence; that will avoid the pitfalls and errors that have made the parole system vulnerable to attack. Loose and inefficient probation is not only undesirable; it is positively a menace.

First of all, the probation idea will not survive—will not deserve to survive if, in any phase of its operation, it is made the plaything of politics. The spoils system in probation work will wreck it beyond even the scantiest demand for its restoration. No enemy without can do the probation ideas as much damage as the judge charged with its administration who uses it to curry favor with this or that element; who permits sordid and selfish motives, instead of social and scientific research, to dictate the placing of an individual upon probation. The paramount responsibility of the judiciary is mentioned first because as a judge of a criminal court I want to be impartial in my conclusions; and because, I believe, that if the probation idea is done to death, the responsibility will be largely that of the judges who not only designate and select the probationers, but also those who have the tender task of their supervision and redemption. Judges must withstand the pressure and importunity of a guilty man's adherents; they must turn a deaf ear to every whisper and advantage save to society and the individual involved. They must discipline their minds to the idea that this form of social service, above all

others, requires scientific research, sympathetic study by independent, qualified, trained investigators, so that they may be fully advised of the facts of the case, undistorted by bias or passion. In a high and noble sense the judge is the trustee of society; that trusteeship excludes every small and sordid motive, particularly in the administration of that phase of criminal justice which has to do with the deterrent, corrective and reformative aspect of the judicial sentence. Judicial peddling of probations for any other but lofty and scientific reasons prostitutes the probation idea and makes it a peril and a misnomer. And on the other hand, judicial spinelessness, which cringes before criticism and weakly refuses to apply the probation idea in worthy cases for fear of clamor or impairment of prestige, is as shabby a debasement of the judicial function as can be conceived.

Safeguarding Probation

First of all, and above all, to the judges, in their capacity of judicial dispensation of probation, falls the solemn duty of safeguarding probation by wise, unselfish, high-minded use of it only in worthy cases. Its success and its standing in public confidence will, in a very great measure, depend upon how the judges measure up to their responsibility in administering it. It is a delicate duty and the sensitiveness of the judicial conscience to its implications is the key to success or failure.

But there is another and very important contact between the judicial function and the probation system. Almost uniformly the judges have a weighty, if not a decisive voice in selecting the personnel of the probation staff. Investigators and supervisors of probation in most cases derive their official life from the judiciary. This influence of the judiciary upon the probation personnel varies in kind and degree in different localities; but nowhere can it be truly said that it is wholly absent.

The Selection of Probation Personnel

If the judges, or other constituted appointing officers in the premises, make the selection of the probation personnel the merchandise of the spoils system, it will soon come to pass that probation will fall to so low an estate in public esteem that it will not be worth saving. For its successful conduct, the probation system needs mentally erect, sympathetic workers with a fine flair for social service; with a spirit to contribute to the betterment of their kind, with an equipment of commonsense, insight, sympathy, industry, tact, firmness, loyalty to duty; with the inspirational fervor that should dominate a healer of broken lives. A good probation officer—man or woman—is a pearl without price, who is not likely to be found among political henchmen, to whom the probation service is, to use a colloquial phrase, "only a meal ticket." On the other hand, no narrow caste of professional uplifters should dominate its control; the probation system may properly be high-minded, without being "high-hatted."

Locating Probation Officers

Whence will come a supply of men and women for this service? Granted a fair disposition on the part of the judges to tolerate none but the best on their probation staffs, from what reservoir will they draw the talent required? This is indeed a perplexing question. Certain fundamental standards must be conceded. Competitive examination to test mental capacity and equipment immediately suggests itself; this field of service is hardly fitted for the stupid, the ignorant, or for those who are socially ineffective. Mental tests, while important, are not all inclusive; character counts heavily in this service; and under character there should be classified such qualities as patience, tolerance, broad mindedness, the spirit of service, sympathy, candor, address, insight, firmness. The possession of these indices of character can only be revealed to the judge through personal contact with, and

personal observation of the candidate for a probation post. Therefore, a probationary period for prospective officers so that their qualifications may be studied leisurely and deliberately, is suggested. In this delicate and sensitive service, many men will soon reveal in their work their lack of fitness, or their splendid qualifications for their duties. Thus the personnel gradually could be built up to a high standard of quality by a discreet weeding out process, resulting in the survival of the fittest. As time goes on, let us hope that only men and women qualified by nature, training and experience for such work will be attracted to the service. The standard of fitness can never be set too high, for the intricate problems of the human heart, the bewildering perplexities of human motive and conduct, demand and require for their study and solution the last tithe of human efficiency.

Things to Avoid

May I suggest to those within the ranks of the probation service, as well as those who seek its honor, that, most of all, they must avoid a narrow caste in their activities. Least of all men, the good probation officer can afford to harbor prejudices or become a "groove-bounded" specialist in his line of work. Some one has said that a specialist is "a man who knows more and more about less and less." In this age of flux and revolution, in this world of ceaseless change, the good probation officer must constantly add to his stock of facts and wisdom so as to keep abreast of the times. The aspect of social life has greatly changed during the past two decades. Compared with its present overflowing condition, the treasury of human knowledge twenty years ago was sadly lacking in information about things which are today of common report. A man could be a very successful craftsman, or politician, or business leader without a great familiarity with science, or government or economics. Those days have passed. Today in order that he may know men, their trials, their temptations, the hurdles they must meet and

surmount, the probation officer must know life—the great throbbing, pulsing, onward-rushing life of the present hour—when the folly of yesterday is the wisdom of today; when the achievements of today will litter the scrap heap of tomorrow. With open, tolerant mind, with earnest, kindly and generous spirit, let the probation officer press forward, through finest human service, to the heights.

In conclusion, let me renew my theme—the probation system is in danger; the danger lies within its administration. To preserve it and make possible its progress, its devotees must display vigor and boldness in holding the probation system and its administration to the highest standard of efficiency, unsmirched, unhampered by political interference, motivated only by the urge to discharge its trusteeship to the people with the utmost care, industry and fidelity.

DISCUSSION

WALTER A. KNIGHT (President, Legal Aid Society, Cincinnati, Ohio): I was chairman of the committee of the Lawyers' Club of Cincinnati when the subject of adult probation was being discussed. A disagreement arose between standards set at the beginning for the probation officers and those which were recommended later as easier. We adopted the slogan, "Real probation or no probation."

HON. FRANK MURPHY (Judge, Recorder's Court, Detroit, Mich.): The danger in probation appointments lies in the fact that in many courts there is no single standard. The whole matter resolves itself into a meeting of judges and the selection of a candidate, without an attempt to have the candidate measured by a given standard. The higher the standard of qualification, the better the result will be. Our efforts should be bent at present toward securing probation officers with the right training, and seeing that some definite standard for their examination and selection is adopted. I think that slogan of yours, "Real probation or no probation," tells the story very effectively.

LINCOLN FROST (Secretary, Department of Public Welfare, Lincoln, Neb.): I am very much in favor of probation. I believe that we must let our judges do the sentencing. It seems to me that instead of limiting further the power invested in them we should give them the help they have been given in Massachusetts—that is allowing every court probation officer to compile the evidence upon which criminals may be sentenced intelligently.

JOEL R. MOORE (Assistant Chief Probation Officer, Recorder's Court, Detroit, Mich.): In Michigan our legislature took away some of the discretionary power from the judges. A man may not be put on probation for certain crimes. If he has committed a previous felony, the judge no longer has discretion.

FRANCES L. ROTH (Assistant Prosecutor, New Haven, Conn.): We believe now that we have more cases of young children in difficulties because for the first time we are keeping records. In our city the same delinquency situation existed before I started in with juvenile court work, only there were no records. Now we keep each case carefully. I think this situation is true throughout the country. It is a case of knowing more about what we have instead of having more of it.

JOSEPH P. MURPHY (Chief Probation Officer, Essex County Court, Newark, N. J.): I should like to throw out this thought to probation officers. Where is there an agency, organization or individual in this country, today, prepared to present the facts in regard to the crime problem? Do we know whether there is an increase in crime? Isn't it our duty and responsibility to urge the necessity of developing an organization or organizations through which we may learn the true facts of the crime situation and present and interpret them intelligently to the public? Then and then only, it seems to me, we shall be able to understand the problem and know whether or not crime is decreasing or increasing and in what proportion.

THOMAS B. MIMMS (Department of Public Welfare, Atlanta, Ga.): In Georgia we have been making a study for the last several years of the criminal cases docketed in the courts, the ratio of convictions, and the disposition of these cases. While I do not have the figures available at this moment, I shall be glad to supply them to those who are interested.

Another matter which we carefully record is our jail population. For the last six years the jail population in Georgia has not increased. It has maintained a ratio in keeping with the increase in population.

Two years ago we made a study of the age of jail prisoners in Fulton County. Atlanta, the capitol of the state, is located in this county. Fulton County furnishes more than one-fifth of the prisoners of the state of Georgia. For the four major classifications of prisoners (white and colored, male and female), there was an increase in the age of the prisoners with the passage of time. Comparing 1914 with 1924 for white male prisoners, the increase in age was about six months. For the other groups, colored men, colored women and white women, the increase in the age of the jail prisoners was from four to six years. These facts backed by figures are a strange contradiction to what is generally said about the increase of crime among the youth of the country.

MR. MOORE: An excellent book to read on this subject is one by E. H. Sutherland, Associate Professor of Sociology with University of Minnesota, entitled "Criminology." Professor Sutherland is an authority on the subject. I should like to have you all read the chapter on "Statistics" in this book.

LEROY C. MATHER (Children's Aid Society, Buffalo, N. Y.): When we talk about the increase in crime, it might be stated that the public press is to be blamed for creating the impression that crime is increasing when, as a matter of fact, it really is not.

WILLIAM H. VENN (Chief Probation Officer, Circuit Court, Detroit, Mich.): Speaking of the crime increase, I wonder if this angle has come to us. We, of the border cities where there are large industrial establishments, find ourselves very often compared with Canada. We all know that

crime to a large extent is a young man's problem. If you travel in Canada extensively you will find that many of the young men have migrated to the United States where they have increased the population of industrial centers. The result is our country gets the group which contributes to the crime problem, and statistical comparisons, unless the full facts are known, produce erroneous impressions.

EDGAR M. GERLACH (Director, Older Boys' Dept. Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, Baltimore, Md.): We have been given to understand from one group that the best way of preventing crime is to grab the criminal by the neck and put him in jail for life. We understand from another source that the best way is to catch the criminal a few minutes after he has committed the crime; sentence him half an hour after that, and the affair is settled. In Baltimore we think this latter attitude is responsible for our low amount of crime. From other sources we hear that each case must be regarded as an individual one. As a new member of the bench, I am wondering what your philosophy is in regard to these things.

JUDGE MURPHY: What you ask involves explanation. The Baumes' Laws of New York State appeal to me. They are not altogether wisely written, I think. In some places the measures they advocate are too extreme and in other places there is evidenced a harmful limitation of sound judicial discretion.

I am not so sure that swift and certain punishment is always wholesome and effective. I think society in the main is often much too swift in condemning the helpless transgressor. I believe in the individual treatment of each case.

The Selection and Training of Probation Officers

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There are many things about this conference which cause the thoughtful social worker to take confidence and press on. Among other things, the tireless throngs rushing from one meeting to another at this great conclave, their seeming determination to see, hear, and know everything, and the persistence with which they come back from year to year, all tend to make us feel that social work as a profession has arrived. One has to keep in mind, however, that there is danger in getting too cocky about it, especially while we are suffering from the conference complex. This is particularly true of us who have to go back to work among those who do not speak our language, and who greet our fortified enthusiasms with a cynical "How do you get that way?" But whatever may happen to us after we separate, it is true that while we are gathered together several thousand strong, social work has come of age, stands up on its own legs, and speaks its mind. At no place on the program is this more evident than now. The courage with which this topic was selected by the makers of the program, and the dogmatism with which it is discussed make us believe, regardless of what may happen to us afterward, that here, surrounded by our friends, we are brave.

If there be angels who deign to discuss political science, we may picture them as trembling with fright while we rush in to discuss the *Selection and Training of Probation Officers*. Officers, no less, who for fifty years under theegis of

democracy have been wont to be elected or appointed! We would now select them, and train them, forsooth. In the light of political precedent, could the witless have more courage than this? Trusting, therefore, in the Providence which is said to watch over children and certain other persons of child-like mind, we shall proceed to the allotted task.

The Social Worker

If there is any probation worker here, old or new type, would-be or embryonic probation officer who does not consider himself or herself to be a social worker, may we suggest at the outset, that you are either going to change your mind and develop a social work consciousness, or you are a member of a passing race. In spite of the report that something like 70 per cent of the children of America are as yet outside of the jurisdiction of a well-organized juvenile court, we venture the assertion that the probation officer of the future is to be chosen with some care, and trained for a job which will some day be recognized as one of the most difficult, as well as one of the most important in the field of social service.

A Situation That Confronts Us

Before we launch into the discussion of how to select and train probation officers let us consider the situation which confronts us.

For many years the probation field has been dominated by an idea which still prevails widely. We might as well deal with it kindly but firmly right at the beginning. That idea is that the probation officer should be a middle-aged, kindly disposed person, with an abundant fund of common sense; a motherly woman for the children and a good-hearted man for the older boys and adults. May we call this the "benevolent-paternal-correctional complex"? Many otherwise well-equipped juvenile courts are still suffering

from the effects of this idea. In such courts you will find the widow of the kindly ex-mayor, or the widowed sister of the county judge, or the beloved pastor emeritus of the local church, working side by side as probation officers with broken-down relatives of the county committeemen or local hangers-on of the county court. We concede ungrudgingly the fact that some of these have been devoted public servants and have saved many brands from the burning. This, however, is not a good argument for continuing the system to the exclusion of a better one. Among those who have become successful officers from the school of experience are some of our outstanding leaders in the field. Some of them are the most insistent that tomorrow's officers shall start the race at scratch, equipped with much of the important knowledge which they themselves had to learn by the painful method of trial and error.

The benevolent-paternal-correctional complex is destined to linger long in small towns and rural counties, but the ground is slowly slipping from beneath the feet of those who defend it as an acceptable method of meeting the juvenile situation.

In the larger centers the speed and efficiency of more youthful trained workers are becoming more and more desirable because of the crowded condition of the children's courts. A well-trained young worker often demonstrates the fallacy of the idea that it takes a middle-aged person to win the confidence of children and their parents.

Furthermore, the handling of criminals is rapidly coming to be recognized as a technical job. Most people have forgotten that surgery was once a function of barbers. Even the sects opposed to modern medicine are not loud in their defense of midwives. Some day we shall be equally complacent in the presence of the notion that the handling of crime is a matter for trained people.

While many things remain to be cleared up by the youthful but ambitious science of criminology, as a result of it

crime is coming to be recognized as a product of composite factors. The conviction is slowly gaining ground that persons who deal with criminals should understand those factors and be trained to deal with them. This is true principally in respect to juvenile offenders. It is beginning to be true of criminals also.

Reforms

Reform in the treatment of criminals, like other successful reform movements, will come slowly; but there is reason to believe that the time is coming when an enlightened electorate, if there be such, in any state will no more think of electing a local attorney to the position of juvenile judge or referee for political reasons than it would of appointing him as president of the state university for the same reasons.

Let us predict that the crime program of the future will have two main divisions. First, because of the pressing character of the problem rather than on account of its importance, we shall have the prisons or their custodial successors, which will be used as a last resort when all efforts to prevent delinquency have failed. They will be specialized in adaptation to the individual needs of their inmates and will be more like what we now call asylums or hospitals or schools than the prisons we now know. We are marking time now admittedly, because something has to be done with criminals and we are not yet ready with the new plans. Perhaps we are more nearly ready with plans than the public is to accept and try them, for the prison and the ideas associated with it have a deep, firm hold upon the popular imagination.

The second great arm of social defense against that part of the antisocial population which we call criminals will include all efforts put forth to keep persons from getting into custodial institutions. Shall we agree that the most important among these will be the various ways of working

with pre-delinquents, those persons who for any reason are headed for criminal careers? The most hopeful developments of recent years have been of this character.

Fitting into and supplementing the activities of the preventive field, will be all of the work designed to make adjustments and correct faulty social habits where delinquency and crime have already appeared. While there is some overlapping at present, and it is probable that some overlapping may continue because of the nature of things, probation work falls primarily in this field. Waiving argument for the time being upon the many controversial questions which have been dealt with in this summary fashion, we are asked to discuss the problem of selecting and training probation officers.

The Job Analysis

How can we select and train probation officers?

Before we attempt to answer this question it might be well to give some consideration to the character of the work for which we propose to train. In other words, let us do a little bit of "job analysis."

On this point there should be no illusions. To be sure it is "just thrilling" and "so romantic" to do things for folks, especially when we get paid for it. Not everyone can make a living as Lady Bountiful, and this, as well as many other fields of social work, offers a rare chance to sentimental idealists and the neurotic. But in the beginning we want to get certain things straight in our minds.

The probation officer is called in on a job where somebody or something has failed. Sometimes a person has made a mess of his life; more frequently it is a group who have botched the job of living. In other cases society has failed miserably and so frequently the failure is in the most vaunted of our institutions. The officer knows that more or less damage has been done already, and begins his or her task with a decided handicap. At best, he or she is

trying to save something from the wreckage. In the majority of cases a young human being has reached a crisis in his life. Most of the vicious factors which have caused the calamity are still in operation. Many of them cannot be eliminated and some cannot be entirely counteracted. The officer steps in to do everything possible to help the individual until the crisis is safely passed. Because of a better understanding of human behavior, the old basic theories and idealistic stand-bys are in the discard. "Appeal to his better nature," "Put him on his honor," are passing to the limbo where sleep "Secure repentance" and "Bring about his conversion." "Give him a change of air" and "Appeal to his interests" are now respectable because of their relation to hygiene and psychology, which are in vogue. These have worked and still work where they happen to counteract an important cause of misconduct. But so frequently there are many causes and they are both mixed and complex. If these old methods are to be preserved and used successfully there must be a knowledge as to how, when and why to use them. In other words, they must become a part of a scientific technique, applied in connection with the fullest information which is procurable with the aid of the most advanced clinical methods.

Theoretically, the probation officer has a right to expect that all the information it is possible to secure will be given to him with his client. Putting the boy on his honor might work if he did not have pus foci in his rotten tonsils or if one could clear up a mental conflict caused by a personality jam he has gotten into with his feeble-minded half-brother. The plan which the probation officer works out for his client will depend upon whether the child is feeble-minded, only retarded, or over bright; whether his glands function properly; conditions in his home, neighborhood, or school; even such a remote fact as that his maternal grandfather has syphilis of the central nervous system may have a bearing on the case.

Theoretically again, the probation officer ought to work in connection with an adequately equipped juvenile court which should either provide the clinical facilities for getting all of the needed information or have them available in other cooperating social agencies. We need not dwell upon what this equipment should be. That is an old story to all of you.

The Probation Officer as a Pioneer

So much for the ideal situation. Now let us consider the situation with which a great majority of the probation officers of the present and future will have to deal. In other words, what of the probation officer who is going to pioneer and for a long time be the only social worker in the community, and who has to work out of a court which has none of the facilities considered essential to adequate functioning? This, too, must be taken into consideration when we talk about selecting and training probation officers. The fact that for a long time the probation officer may have to go it alone, build up his own machinery, and slowly educate his judge, worm his funds from a reluctant county court, educate and organize his community and carry on an endless fight with the county prosecutor over cases, besides doing all sorts of other social work because there is no one else to do it, makes us realize that it takes a certain type of person to do this sort of thing and that in kindness to him he should have the advantage, to begin with, of the broadest general preparation possible as well as a certain amount of technique as tools of his trade. I have said "him," "he," and "his." These are only figures of speech. We all know that at present and for a long time to come, a majority of these officers are and will be women. It is hard for us to think of an officer as "she."

Each Officer a Specialist

In the light of the great variety of factors which enter into the production of delinquency, it is obvious that each

client must be considered in a class by himself. To be sure, there may be present certain basic factors which are classifiable, and such classifications may help the officer to a considerable extent, but stereotyped treatment may be dangerous because of any single factor in the case capable of preventing its success. In other words, the work of the officer is that of a specialist who brings all of his skill to bear upon the case in hand.

With these facts in mind we may now consider the general matter of training persons who attempt to do this work with some hope of success, or a hope of some measure of success.

In the writer's opinion there are three things of outstanding importance in the training of probation officers. These are: the selection of candidates for training; the cultural background for training, and the kind and amount of technical training.

It is obvious that we are dealing with three fundamental problems here which should be approached from many angles. The limitations of this discussion dictate that we can do little more than outline these points in the remaining paragraphs. Let us keep in mind that there are always important considerations which we shall have to leave out, but shall not forget.

The Selection of Candidates

Age. In spite of what we have said about the benevolent-paternal-correctional complex, let us state in fairness that middle age is not a bar to successful probation work. What we want to make clear is this: Middle age may be a bar to successful training for probation work. There is a certain amount of dogmatism in the following statements which is probably not warranted but we want to make our case clear.

If a person past thirty years of age is admitted to training it should be only after the persons responsible for ad-

mission have satisfied themselves that the candidate is free from habits of mind and notions which may stand in the way of successful training. In other words, there is an attitude toward both training and work which the student must develop if he or she is to be successful. If the training is undertaken with wrong attitudes which will stand in the way of developing right ones the candidate should be persuaded to seek some other field of occupation. This openness to the development of an attitude, unfortunately, becomes increasingly rare as individuals progress from thirty to forty years of age. It may appear to some that this discussion is gratuitous, or that we are talking about something which does not exist, but our experience has led us to feel very strongly about it and to make this consideration fundamental. The opening of the college year seldom or never rolls around without some mature widow, thrown upon her own resources, some school teacher mistrustful of advancing years in the schoolroom, some unoccupied woman who has developed a desire to become useful, or has developed a necessity for earning funds, or some preacher who has become impatient with the pulpit as a medium of service, coming for a conference on the possibility of getting into social work. Once in a while one of these is so well endowed by nature for social service that I advise in favor of training even though the remaining years of usefulness are few. Many of them are able without training to get positions with agencies which have not yet adopted advanced requirements for their employees. It must be remembered, also, that some of these people do very well in social work by reason of native ability and not infrequently by reason of transference of previous experience to the new job. It is encouraging to note, however, that in recent years the persons who come for such conferences frequently have been to the agencies first and have been told that they cannot be considered for positions until they have taken training.

There are many things in favor of the more youthful candidate. It is hardly necessary to mention them. Vigor, optimism, drive, loyalty to superiors, pride in putting a good piece of work over with a snap, willingness to learn rather than determination to vindicate a method or an idea, willingness to take constructive criticism, and the long view which includes experience and worthiness to enter into more responsible fields of executive work are a few of the qualifications common to youthful workers which are relatively rare in middle-aged persons. Over against these are more mature judgment and "common sense," supposed to qualify the more mature person. I am wondering, however, if we have not underestimated the extent to which judgment and common sense are a part of the equipment of the more youthful worker.

One should not turn from this consideration without giving some attention to the fact that a great many young people graduate from college before they reach the age of majority. Unless the personality and mind are prematurely developed or what our elders have called "old for their years" the period of training should be longer or the candidate should be encouraged to work under close supervision in some phase of social work less closely related to the tangled skeins of people's lives for a time before becoming a probation officer. We have instances where persons as young as twenty-three have done probation work successfully. We have in mind, also, persons who will never be old enough to be probation officers.

Personality. At the risk of repeating a bromide we venture the opinion that successful probation officers are born and not made. We shall not allow ourselves to be drawn into an extended discussion of that elusive thing called personality. Admitting a definite inferiority complex in the presence of psychologists, we shall attempt to make a few simple statements which, after all, may be unnecessary. Everybody knows what we mean.

Among the qualities necessary to success which are commonly associated with character are a real interest in and sympathy for people. These qualities cannot be simulated. If they are not present naturally, it is doubtful if they can be acquired. Tolerance and good nature are tremendously important, as is a certain quality of humility which goes with self-confidence. We must leave out intuition, that almost uncanny faculty of sensing something which is not apparent on the surface of a situation. Maybe we should include tact if what we commonly understand by that word is not somehow included in the qualities just mentioned. People with these qualities have long been successful social workers, many of them with no specific training except experience. In fact, such people gave us social work and showed the necessity for training. They want posterity to avoid their costly mistakes and humiliating failures. Training does not produce these qualities. It is designed to make more useful and efficient those persons who are endowed with them by nature. Training of persons without these qualifications may increase their capacity for doing harm. There ought to be a "law against" letting unqualified persons tinker with men's lives, especially with the lives of maladjusted children.

Health and Physique. Good health inspires confidence. We need not mention the wear and tear upon the biological organism of the worker who tries to bear other people's burdens. We cannot, however, pass up the importance of mental health, or psychic health, or whatever you choose to call it. The presence of any of the psychoses or neuroses of the milder type should bar a candidate for training for work with delinquents. Precaution here is important because of the fascination which social work seems to have for unstable persons who seek compensatory experience in attempting to solve life problems of other people. We should say to those persons who admit students to training courses, "If in doubt, require the candidate to pre-

sent a clean bill of mental health in the form of a psychiatric diagnosis."

The Cultural Background of Training

General Academic Education. We may not here enter into the discussion of whether the training course should be a part of the regular college course or post-graduate work. In practice many training schools still train for social work in the senior year of the A.B. or B.S. course. The arguments for this are mainly those of expediency. The ideal throughout America seems to be a graduate course with a minimum of one year. That this is considered too short a time for adequate training is shown by the fact that one school at least is offering the two year graduate course leading toward the Ph.D. in social service, and several schools are requiring fifteen months of training; still others require a full college year and a summer school.

Assuming that the properly trained person is to be a college graduate, what sort of a general course is held to provide the proper background for social service, especially for probation work?

The minimum requirement would seem to be a pretty thorough-going general history course; a course in industrial history; a speaking acquaintance with the English language, including literature, especially that period of literature affected by the impact of the industrial revolution upon modern life; a sufficient amount of natural science to give the scientific attitude toward learning; a course in the history of philosophy if it is available from a teacher who does not lose sight of folks in society; with a major in some phase of social science.

Specific Background Course. Without any hesitation we would place first among the specific background courses, a first course in sociology. It should include a pretty thorough study of social evolution including what for some time has been called anthropology; the nature, function, and de-

velopment of institutions; and that part of the customary sociology course which treats of social forces and their effects upon human association and behavior. A good course in general psychology should be followed by one in abnormal psychology or psychiatry. Owing to the crowded condition of the curriculum in the year of technical training, the undergraduate training should include a general course in social problems or social economy including the historic background of both social problems and social work. In other words, the student who undertakes training for probation work or any other phase of social service should have a pretty good idea of what it is all about and be able to see his or her own field in relation to other types of constructive effort. The job should be seen as part of a whole, including the public with its multitudinous organizations and individuals, ambitions, devoted, and otherwise, which the social worker should understand, guide, and use in doing a constructive piece of work. A probation officer may even be called upon to educate a judge, or attempt to explain the social viewpoint to members of the legal profession. In this event, can any one doubt the wisdom of a broad social background?

Technical Training

Classroom or Academic Training. All schools of social work divide the period of technical training between classroom work and field work which is the laboratory of the social work student. The usual division includes approximately twelve classroom hours per week and fifteen hours of field work for which four or five hours of credit are given. This represents a division of the students' time into approximately half in class and half in the field, under careful supervision. The so-called divided course, in which the classroom work and field work are done in separate terms instead of conjointly, retains about the same division of the student's time.

What then should the student study during the classroom or academic period of training? If the undergraduate course has not included a general introduction to social problems such a course should be included here. Next in importance is a course in social pathology. The customary course in charities and correction, by whatever name it is called, is hardly sufficient and should be accompanied by a course in institutional methods and a course in criminology. A stiff course in methods of case work throughout the course of training is indispensable. The prospective probation worker should have the advantage of a clinical course in abnormal psychology or psychiatry. A course in community organization is important as preparation for later mobilization of the community's resources in the handling of cases. Electives, if there is room for any, should make up the deficiencies in the undergraduate background. If there are none of these, the electives should be chosen with a view to their bearing upon the candidate's chosen field. In the case of the probation worker, any course bearing upon the law, court practices, property, institutions of correction, preventive methods, or general problems of child welfare would be helpful. In common with other social workers, the prospective probation officer should have a course in news writing and reporting in preparation for interpreting his or her job to the community through the newspapers. In no other field perhaps, is the problem of news and public education quite so delicate because of the harmful effect of the methods of reporting. It is highly desirable, also, from an academic standpoint, that the student should have a seminar course in methods of collecting, interpreting and preparing data for publication. Much important material of great value for scientific purposes is constantly being buried in records from which it may never be extricated because it is allowed to get "cold" before it is interpreted for the use of later students. Simple record

keeping and report writing will have been taken care of in the course in methods of case work.

Field Work or Laboratory Training. The probation worker should have a basic course in family case work or field work. A minimum of two terms should be insisted upon. At the end of this training the student should do at least a term of case work in connection with a properly organized juvenile court under supervision and direction of a well-trained probation officer being allowed to assume increasing responsibility in handling cases as his or her understanding and proficiency develop. If additional training is undertaken, it might well include various aspects of executive and administrative work. Your candidate may some day be a referee in a juvenile or domestic court. If a higher degree is sought, a second or third year offers abundant opportunity for research in a field where much needs to be done and much is to be learned.

We may expect many communities to progress to the point of having a probation officer long before they get to the point of demanding a children's court or a court of domestic relations. For that reason it is important that the officer who goes into the community shall be in position to make himself or herself indispensable and eventually create a demand for specialized court machinery and procedure.

It is to be hoped that technicians trained in this manner may in time create a public demand for their services and that they may furnish the nucleus from which technical workers may be drawn into the broader fields of crime treatment and prevention. Probation workers of this type, together with the workers in the so-called pre-delinquent field may eventually teach the public to appreciate, insist upon, and adequately pay for this kind of service.

Fifty Years of Probation*

Herbert C. Parsons

*Deputy Commissioner of Probation,
Commonwealth of Massachusetts*

It was fifty years ago that in the senate of our legislature, the senator from South Boston rose in his place and offered an order requiring that the committee on judiciary of the legislature should inquire into the desirability of the appointment of a probation officer for the county of Suffolk.

This was the first time that the word "probation" had ever been used in the legal sense in any legislative body. The result was that the learned committee on judiciary, presided over by Charles Theodore Russell, one of the most distinguished lawyers of his period, reported a bill which was the initial pioneer probation legislation in the history of all governments. This resulted in the appointment of a probation officer in the city of Boston. In subsequent legislation this service was extended to all the cities and towns of the state. In 1891, every one of our primary courts was provided with a probation officer. Seven years later, the service was extended to our higher courts.

The year 1878 saw the beginning of the establishment of probation work in Massachusetts which has spread to nearly all our states. It stands, therefore, in the annals of our state and in the annals of our country in about the same conspicuous relation to worthwhile events as the year 1776, which has decided historic meaning for all of us. We exalt the year 1878 and want it impressed upon the world at large because it brought forth something new in the field of jurisprudence.

* Introductory remarks made at the evening meeting of National Probation Association Conference, May 1, 1928.

Down in the old burying ground at Plymouth there is a little tombstone over the grave of a child who died in 1778. The inscription upon the stone begins with the words, "Oh, happy probationer." I have been called very sharply to account for the claim that probation began in 1878 when a little happy probationer died in Plymouth in 1778.

The Future

I do not need to say that the word probation was gathered from the ecclesiastical dictionary and put into the criminal law without any diminution of its very solemn meaning.

We are now at the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of probation in America. When we realize the significance of the introduction of this word into the criminal laws—when we realize what it has already meant in the salvaging of human lives, and the return of many from the paths they were traveling by their own choice and the paths they would have been forced into by archaic legislation, based entirely upon the punitive, vindictive idea—when we realize all this, we ought not to have much trouble in falling into the jubilee spirit.

Jubilees, however, are backward-looking affairs. In dealing with the offender today, we need to keep our eyes toward the future. Through the unthinking attacks which are always made upon the rather novel features in any work; through the assaults which have been visited upon every humane undertaking, and the attacks upon this particular feature in our law which have attended the hysteria of our recent years—probation has become firmly entrenched in the laws and practices of our country with a possibility for the future that is all the grander because it has withstood so many storms.

To me it seems that probation holds out in the very nature of its service the brightest promise of advance. It is the treasure house of a vital principle; it is not a mere

gathering together of earnest people in various positions in the courts of our country to do a humane service; it is the custodian of a great truth. Along this line; along the line of salvage; along the line of reformation, of restoration, and above all of individual understanding and treatment, probation has led the way. It has gathered allies as it went. It stands now at the forefront in the hopeful program of dealing with that ever increasing problem—the person who violates our laws.

Probation Needs in the South

C. C. Menzler

*Superintendent, Tennessee Industrial School,
Nashville, Tennessee*

You who come from the North, East and West have had watchful eyes upon the South and have noticed the wonderful progress it has made. We, who live in the South, are neither inclined to live in the past, nor be content with the achievements of yesterday. We are deeply and seriously concerned with the problems of today and the progress of the future.

We point with pride to the development of our educational and welfare programs in the South. There was a time when comparison of our welfare programs with yours did not bring us much comfort or satisfaction. At present our work compares favorably with any in the land. We owe to many of you a debt of gratitude for the counsel and financial assistance you have given us and we promise with a definite sense of assurance to do even better work in the future.

Probation

The South has many needs, too many in fact to permit more than the suggestion of them in this paper. The one I wish to stress at this time is the need of adequate probation work. The writer has some very definite convictions upon the theory and practice of probation. He approaches the study with a background of careful personal study of prisons, courts and prisoners and experience with the actual workings of the probation laws. More than twenty years ago, while still a student in college, I received my first impression of prison life, of court procedure and of the unfor-

fortunate who were compelled to pass through the courts into prisons. At that time I thought the courts were cold, indifferent, cruel and unjust. I thought prisons were unnecessary; that prison life was conducive to nothing but degradation and shame. After years of experience, I have reached the conclusion that the courts are not without human sympathies; that they are not indifferent to the welfare of the man upon whom they pass judgment, and that prisons are necessary for the confinement of certain unfortunates from whom society must be protected. I have unshaken confidence in the integrity of our judiciary and in the men who manage our prisons. Confidence in them, however, does not take away a definite conviction that the theory and practice of probation is just as sound and may be more effective in the handling of unfortunates than are our institutions. I know that very often the quality of mercy overcomes the demands of justice, which demands are not always favorable to the defendant. Society has some definite rights of protection to property and life. The defendant also has a right to demand fair treatment. When the theory of probation is put into intelligent practice, the interest of society as well as the defendant are properly protected.

As I understand probation, it does not mean that a man may commit any crime and go free. It means instead that after a thorough investigation by qualified probation officers, the court is in a position to determine the wisdom of placing these men on probation or confining them in an institution for a period of time, and that the injured parties shall so far as possible be made satisfied for the injury they have suffered and that the defendant shall remain on probation until the court can be reasonably sure of his permanent reformation.

Juvenile Courts

The South has some of the best juvenile courts in the land. It has well advanced juvenile court legislation. Our

juvenile courts are fairly well equipped and have an intelligent personnel. They are reasonably well financed and are doing good work. I point with pardonable pride to the Juvenile Court of Memphis, whose work I know and whose children I have in the institution I represent. I know of no better court, nor one which is doing a more effective piece of work.

Among the great needs in the South today is legislation to provide for adult probation. We need the services of probation officers in our criminal courts; we need psychologists and psychiatrists. We need funds with which to carry on definite adult probation work; we need to educate our constituency along advanced lines of dealing with adult offenders; we need the public defender in every criminal courtroom. I believe that with this added machinery to our state government, we should be in position to save a larger percentage of our criminally inclined men and women than we are saving at present.

Proven Values of Probation

The Honorable Cyrus E. Pattee

Judge, Circuit Court, South Bend, Indiana

A study of the use of probation as a correctional agency in dealing with delinquents discloses certain obvious and demonstrable facts which when compared with the results from the use of other correctional methods become convincing.

In discussing the subject of probation it is important to indicate briefly the methods employed and the results obtained over a definite period of time in a given jurisdiction. Since the data I shall cite have all been taken from the records of the court over which I have jurisdiction, I am able to vouch for their authenticity.

Juvenile Probation

As judge of the St. Joseph Circuit Court of South Bend, Indiana, I am also judge of the juvenile court of the county. In our juvenile court work, when a complaint is made the probation department makes a thorough and complete investigation. This investigation includes the home, school, church and community life of the child. If, as a result of this investigation it is determined that guidance is advisable, a physical and mental test is given the child and he is then placed on probation. In most cases the probation involves weekly contacts with the child's home. The object of these home visits is not alone to supervise the child's conduct, but to stimulate a better relationship and understanding between the child and other members of the family. The child's teacher is asked to report weekly to the department concerning the child's behavior and progress in school. Whenever possible a sponsor is procured for the

child—who works with the child under the direction of the officer in charge. In this connection it might be said that we avail ourselves as much as possible of the active co-operation, support and assistance of all organizations of the community interested in child welfare work.

Record Evidence

Let us look at some record evidence. The total population of St. Joseph County, Indiana, is approximately 150,000. The juvenile or school population is 39,829. The school population—32,800 children, comes from the joint industrial centers of South Bend and Mishawaka, and 7,029 children from the rural districts of the county. These figures show that the major population comes from industrial regions.

Systematic juvenile probation began in St. Joseph County in January, 1926. During the years 1926 and 1927 the probation department investigated 167 complaints against girls. Fifty-five of the girls were placed on probation. During the same period of time 289 complaints against boys were investigated, and of these 216 were placed on probation. In the same years—1926 and 1927—11 girls and 12 boys were committed to correctional institutions, making a total of 23. During the two years immediately preceding, in which there had been no systematic probation work, there was a total of 69 commitments.

Well directed probation results in improved relationships of the child in the home, in the school and in the community. This is an advantage of infinitely greater value to a community than any mere cost consideration—although an audit of cost would show the expense of probation to be less than that of institutional training. Not least among the benefits resulting from properly organized probation is the community-wide interest which is stimulated in the care and welfare of children. This interest has grown to a degree beyond measure in money values. In view of these

facts, we feel strongly that the results of juvenile probation are more satisfactory and of greater value than those of any other correctional method.

Adult Probation

We began adult probation in South Bend in June, 1925. When an application is made, the county probation officer investigates the applicant's record as to previous crimes, associates and employment. He finds out something about the man's family, his church and community relationships. If the investigation discloses facts which lead to the conclusion that the accused will comply with the terms, probation is granted. We have no fixed test or rule to determine when probation will be given, or when withheld. Each case is judged solely on its own merits. In most cases the probationer is required to pay a fine in small weekly installments. There are two reasons for this. One is that probationers are not as a rule in a position to pay a lump sum fine. The other which is of greater moment—is that we are better able through these weekly contacts to stress the importance of responsibility, and teach the value of prompt, regular response to a stated program.

Our court records for the years of 1926 and 1927 disclose the information that applications for probation were made in 117 cases. Probation was granted in 92 cases and refused in 25 cases. In 12 cases the terms of probation were violated and it was revoked.

Benefits to State from Adult Probation

It is worth noting that during this period fines and support money collected in small, weekly payments amounted to \$11,482.28 in excess of the total cost of probation. We think this record clearly indicates a material benefit to the state from the use of adult probation. This benefit, however, is the least factor which should be considered. The outstanding consideration should be whether the work has

been carried on to the end that the probationer's view of human conduct is in better accord with law and order.

In conclusion attention is drawn to the fact that under probation the accused is permitted to receive correctional treatment in the environment of his own home under the guidance of a trained sponsor. Thus, if he be the head of a family, his family has the advantage of his support and companionship. We believe that this personal guidance is of outstanding correctional value, and that the advantages probation thus affords to all persons concerned clearly justifies its adoption.

Old Crime and New Methods of Dealing With It

The Honorable Herbert G. Cochran
*Judge of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court,
Norfolk, Virginia*

Neither ancient nor medieval civilizations and nations apparently evolved any method, system or plan of dealing with crime in any comprehensive way which offers us today much help in the problem of crime. Indeed, if much thought or attention was given to the subject of the causes or the prevention of crime, evidence of it does not seem to have survived in any written record. Certainly, the contributions of former ages to the problem of crime are not in any sense comparable to the contributions which were made in the fields of art, literature and the science of government. Our own time, prior to some twenty-five or thirty years ago, can scarcely be said to have produced any great amount of constructive thought or intelligent consideration to the problem, though since the late eighteenth century there has been attention, generally more or less sporadic, to theories of crime and punishment and to the conditions of prisons in various countries. Today a great deal of attention and some degree, at least, of real, thoughtful planning are being applied to the subject. Though a vast deal of ignorance and prejudice still obtain, it may be truly said that today there is a great new social surge in the field of criminal jurisprudence. The new wine of social ideas is being poured into the old bottles of fixed legal concepts and rules, and promises to work a real revolution in this field of our law.

Dean Pound has referred to this tendency as the "individualization of justice." It might be well described also

as the "socialization of justice." Our modern theory of reformation, the modern tendency to repudiate the idea of vengeance in the criminal law, to stress the individual offender and his social life rather than to keep attention fixed on the amount of punishment which should be prescribed for specified violations of law, are preparing the way for many changes which make for a more intelligent and satisfactory dealing with the problem of crime. After all, the problem is to a large extent educational, because we can advance to the application of newer theories and methods only so fast as public opinion will support such application.

The basis, and, to some extent, the cause of crime have remained the same throughout the ages, though its manifestations in criminal acts vary with changing civilizations, changing social conditions and changing provisions of law. That basis is, broadly speaking, the selfish, impulsive and socially uncontrolled acts of the individual for his own advantage and aggrandisement done in accordance with his own desires and impulses, without regard to the interests, rights, welfare or safety of others. Devon in "The Criminal and the Community" is on fairly firm ground when he says: "There is only one principle in penology that is worth any consideration: it is to find out why a man does wrong and make it not worth his while"—though it is too sweeping and general to be applicable to, or useful in the cases of, all offenders. The cause or causes of crime, as has been said, are, to a considerable extent, fundamentally identical with the basis of it; though the more immediate causes of its manifestations in criminal acts are various, and dependent to a large degree on social conditions and social control of conduct, which, incidentally, is a much more powerful form of control for most people than legal prohibitions. Broadly speaking, crime is largely the result of defective moral, social and economic conditions, just as,

to go a step further back, criminals are, to a large extent, the product of such defective conditions.

As Sutherland in his "Criminology" says: "The essential reason why persons become criminals is that they have been isolated from the culture of the law-abiding group, by reason of their residence, employment, codes, native incapacity or something else. Consequently, they are lacking in the experiences, feelings, ideas, and attitudes out of which to construct a life organization that the law-abiding public will regard as desirable."

Cost of Crime

Crime is a most important matter for this nation, on account of its enormous economic cost and its tremendous social waste.

Its social wastage is incalculable. The most conservative estimates of its financial loss to the nation put its annual cost at \$6,000,000,000; some estimates place it as high as \$10,000,000,000; and even these figures take no account of what the army of crime would mean to the productive forces of the nation if those engaged in criminal activities or confined in penal institutions were useful economic producers in their communities.

These are enormous and staggering figures which perhaps convey but little significance except by comparison. To gain a comparative idea of the enormous economic drain of crime on the life of the community, consider that the most gigantic enterprise in which the United States ever engaged, the World War, cost this nation \$19,000,000,000 and made our national debt more than five times what it had ever been before; and consider that the total direct cost of education in this country is only \$1,000,000,000 annually. So that the annual cost of crime is six to ten times what is expended for education each year. W. J. Burns is authority for the statement that railroads and express companies in this country lose annually by theft and embezzle-

ment, etc., more than \$100,000,000. W. B. Joyce, President of the National Surety Co., states that burglars secure annually by the plying of their trade \$225,000,000; that bandits secure \$50,000,000; that there is lost each year in this country by theft \$150,000,000 and by embezzlement \$125,000,000. Consider further, that the cost of crime is more than the annual revenue of our national government and more than our national budget, and twelve times the cost of the army and navy. Add to this the cost of maintaining in penal institutions and jails in idleness some 400,000 persons annually at public expense and that what they might earn as economic producers is lost to their communities, and we begin to realize that the cost of crime is truly staggering.

But even yet we have not the whole picture. In crimes of violence, this nation leads the civilized world. In 1924 in the United States there were 10,000 murders; in England and Scotland in the same year 151, and in France 585; in Philadelphia in 1924 there were 50 more homicides than in all the Dominion of Canada; in Chicago in 1925 there were 563 murders and in 1924 there were 509. In London with a population more than twice as large, there were less than 50 murders in either year. In 1921, in England and Wales there were 95 robberies, in France 121; in New York city there were 1,445 robberies and in Chicago 2,417. Honorable Theodore Burton of Ohio is authority for the statement that: "The exceptionally orderly city of Washington in a single year reported four times as many robberies as London, and Los Angeles more than all in England, Wales and Scotland." The report of the Special Committee on Law Enforcement of the American Bar Association at Minneapolis in 1923 contained this statement: "The criminal situation in the United States so far as crimes of violence are concerned is worse than in any other civilized country." Evidently our methods of dealing with crime have neither been meeting nor solving the situation.

Causes of Crime

This is confessedly a very complicated subject—a field largely unexplored in any systematic way, lying mostly in the darkness of an absence of comprehensive statistics or thorough study. Generally speaking, crime may be said to be the fruit and product of the antisocial forces of the community. Its amount indicates with some degree of accuracy, at least, the extent to which the better social forces in our national life have not been the controlling factors, and have not been able to meet and overcome the antisocial forces.

In a society or community in which religious influences are weak, adequate education lacking, good social standards not prevalent, home life disintegrated, poverty and unemployment rife, housing poor, and habits of home and community discipline not controlling—in such a society or community crime is likely to flourish.

Instances of the remarkable effect of supervised playgrounds, community centers, Boy Scouts and such social forces, together with generally diffused prosperity, a socially well organized life and socially active churches, on the problem of crime and delinquency in specific localities are doubtless familiar to all of you. In Norfolk, Boy Scouts are almost unknown in the juvenile court; and the result of the opening of Madison Ward Community Center in a certain section of that city, with a well organized program, has to a large extent done away with serious delinquency among boys in a section of the city from which the largest number formerly came into the juvenile court.

I question whether the tremendous effect of education on the crime problem is generally or adequately realized. A chart published in the monthly bulletin of the Virginia State Board of Public Welfare graphically indicates this effect by comparing the educational advantages of those persons whose names appear in "Who's Who in America" and the persons in the Virginia State Penitentiary. Of those

names appearing in "Who's Who in America" 14,055, approximately 64 per cent, were college graduates; 3,622 or 15 per cent, attended college but did not graduate; 2,756 or 11.5 per cent, finished high school; 1,880 or 7.75 per cent, had only a grammar school education; 1,814 or 7 per cent, furnished no educational data; 388 or 1.5 per cent, were self or privately educated. At least 91 per cent of this number had high school education or better and the great majority were college or university trained. Compare these figures with the population of the Virginia State Penitentiary in 1926. Of those in this penitentiary 876 or 35.08 per cent, had attended no school; 852 or 34.08 per cent, had not completed the 5th grade; 575 or 23 per cent, had gone as high as the 5th grade or better; 108 or 4.32 per cent, had been in high school but did not graduate; 55 or 2 per cent, were high school graduates; 33 or 1.32 per cent, had attended college, and 25 were graduates. That is, 96.5 per cent of those in the Virginia State Penitentiary had had less than a high school education, while only 3.5 per cent had had the advantages of high school education or better. That is to say, the educational advantages of the leaders of the life of this nation and of those in its penal institutions are in almost exactly inverse ratio.

Perhaps one of the greatest of all the causes of serious crime, and of confirmed criminals, is our own making of confirmed criminals through our unintelligent methods of dealing with crime and criminals. Our jails are incubators of crime; they breed crime instead of curing or preventing it. They defeat the very purpose for which their inmates are placed there—and they do it at a large financial cost to the community as well as with great social wastage. Some of our penitentiaries are better; some are not. It may fairly be said that almost none of our prisons in any real sense reform and make useful citizens of those confined in them, certainly not to anything like the extent that this ought to be done. Of this, more later.

Former Methods of Dealing with Crime

Ancient nations resorted largely to putting criminals to death by various cruel means such as banishment, flogging, selling into slavery, sending to the galleys, working in mines, etc. Though they had no very comprehensive or constructive plan or treatment, they do seem to have apparently, to a considerable extent, avoided making confirmed criminals, because they used imprisonment very little as a method of punishment, and thus avoided the education in crime which those confined in penal institutions so often get.

Mediaeval nations followed largely the same methods as ancient nations, though they seem to have devised various refinements in cruelty and punishment. Death was the common punishment and such methods of inflicting death as burning at the stake, boiling in oil, breaking on the wheel, the iron coffin and impaling were prevalent.

Our own methods of punishment are derived largely from England. (1) Death and mutilation by cutting off various parts of the body, disemboweling, cutting off the head, drawing and quartering the body, flogging and such methods were largely in vogue in early England. Here is a provision of the "Laws of Cnut" in Anglo-Saxon England: "At the second time let there be no other bot if he be foul than that his hands be cut off, or his feet, or both, according as the deed may be, and if then he have wrought yet greater wrong, then let his eyes be put out, or his nose and his ears and the upper lip be cut off; or let him be scalped * * * so that punishment be inflicted and also the soul preserved." Two hundred and sixty-three crimes were punishable by death in the time of Henry VIII; suicides were, after death, punished by being buried at the crossroads with stakes driven through the middle of their bodies. One hundred and sixty-four crimes were punishable by death when Blackstone wrote his Commentaries in the late eighteenth century. During the early part of the modern period

the corpse was gibbeted, that is, remained hanging in chains, and was sometimes soaked in tar so that it would remain for a long time as a warning to evildoers. So late as 1814, three boys, aged eight, nine and eleven, were sentenced to death for stealing a pair of shoes. Capital punishment for such comparatively trivial offenses was said not to be unusual. (2) Prisons date from about the time of Henry II, who ordered, in the Assize of Clarendon, that every county and shire, which did not have a gaol, should build one. But for nearly two centuries thereafter they were used as places for detaining those awaiting trial and to confine those who were being held for non-payment of fines, rather than as places of confinement of those convicted of crime. In the fourteenth century they began to be used to considerable extent as places of punishment. They were, generally, apparently quite horrible places. In the time of Henry VIII the inmates of the jails were farmed out to the keepers of the jails, generally for life, and by working them as he pleased, and having no expense whatever with them, even for food, he managed to wring considerable profit from their wretched labor; prisoners had to support themselves; they were allowed to beg their food and friends helped them out when they could.

The jails in England, apparently, remained in very much this same condition until John Howard wrote in 1777 his epoch-making work "State of Prisons in England." Howard's general conclusion was thus expressed: "If it were the wish and aim of magistrates to effect the destruction present and future of young delinquents, they could not devise a more effectual method, than to confine them so long in our prisons, those seats and seminaries * * * of idleness and every vice." Probably, nothing has ever exerted so great an influence in prison reform as this book. Robinson in his "Penology in the United States," says: "In England, the jail of the seventeenth century is now grown

beyond recognition; it has suffered but little change in the United States."

In the American Colonies, capital punishment was never used so extensively as in England, though penalties in this country today are generally more severe than they are in Great Britain, so far as length of imprisonment provided by law is concerned. In most of the New England Colonies, not more than twelve offenses were punishable by death. In the Southern States punishment was less severe than in New England in colonial days; though today the Southern States have capital punishment for more offenses than states in any other section of the country. In 1788, Ohio limited the death penalty to murder. Pennsylvania followed suit in 1794. By 1920, twelve states had abolished capital punishment, and in twelve others it could be inflicted only for murder; in sixteen other states it can be inflicted only for murder and rape.

Public executions have been found to be brutalizing and to cause a loss of sensibility, which, after all, is the greatest preventive of wrongdoing. They have been found also to be a cause of increase of crime; and they have been done away with everywhere, though during the World War the Sheriff of Cook County, Ill., compelled the prisoners to witness a hanging in jail.

Severity of punishment alone can be said to have had but little effect in decreasing crime. An interesting and amusing instance of the effect of severity of punishment in decreasing crime may be cited from English history. In the time of Blackstone, pickpockets were one of the 164 classes of criminals who were punished by hanging. These executions were times of festival for the community and the effect of this punishment was indicated by the fact that it was generally recognized that at no time or place was the picking of pockets more frequently indulged in than in these groups around the gibbets on which pickpockets were being hanged. It seems a much more probable theory, and experience also

indicates, that, as punishment of crime has decreased in brutality and severity, crime itself has decreased. The abolition of capital punishment has nowhere apparently resulted in an increase of crime either in the countries of Europe or in the states of this nation.

Certainty and swiftness of detection of offenses and prompt arrest and trial would seem both on the basis of reason and experience to be much more effective deterrents to crime than severity.

We resort today in dealing with crime principally to the older methods of imprisonment and fine, and we have begun to make considerable use of the newer methods of suspended sentence and probation, as well as of the indeterminate sentence, conditional pardon and parole.

Use of these newer methods is partly due to a more humane attitude and viewpoint; partly they are the result of the application of intelligent thought to the problem of crime, since we have recently been awakened to the realization of the fact that the older methods were not meeting the situation nor making any real contribution to the solution of the problem. Comprehensively conceived, properly applied, and intelligently administered, these new methods would seem to hold the promise of a real contribution toward a satisfactory dealing with crime and its problems. The direction in which we are tending, at present, seems to be to insist upon the offender against the law leading a decent life, under supervision and social aid, backed by the threat of segregation from society, which in certain types of offenders and in the case of repeaters will tend to become permanent segregation.

Imprisonment, or at least confinement, will, doubtless, have to continue in use for some types of the criminal element who will have to be segregated for the safety of society, because they cannot or will not adjust their conduct to reasonably normal social standards. But the places of confinement ought to become institutions for the educa-

tion and training of those who can and will be trained for normal, useful lives in society; and for the permanent segregation in some form of useful, productive life, as near to normal social life as may be, for those who cannot or will not adjust in our social life. Actual imprisonment will probably have to be retained for the more violent and persistent criminals, who will not, apparently, for a long time, at least, entirely disappear as a product of our society.

Defects of Present Methods of Dealing with Crime

There is unquestionably a woeful and disastrous lack of law enforcement in many parts of this country. Perpetrators of crime are far too seldom arrested. Crime is much too safe a business. A recent report of the Committee of the National Crime Commission, made by Louis N. Robinson, secretary of the committee, of which ex-Governor Frank O. Lowden is chairman, on "European Methods and Ideas of Penal Treatment" contains this statement: "While we Americans seem to think that crime can be held in check by punishing severely an insignificant fraction of our criminals, Europeans believe that it is far more effective to impose reasonably mild penalties on a large proportion of those who offend. A short time ago, an investigation in two of the leading cities of Missouri revealed the fact that whereas information had been laid before the police concerning some 14,000 major felonies, arrests had followed in only 8 per cent of the cases. Worse—it was shown that a total of only 3 per cent had been found, or had pleaded guilty. To trust in the efficacy of punishing severely the 3 per cent while allowing the 97 per cent to escape scot-free would scarcely appeal to a European as an example of our boasted efficiency or our hard common sense. They, on the contrary, have built up non-political police forces that make it decidedly risky for an individual to engage in crime." A more recent report of this same committee states that in

Buffalo only 3 per cent of arrests have been made in cases of robbery; in Schenectady 10 per cent, in St. Louis 11 per cent. In England 82 per cent of arrests were made in a group of seven of the more serious felonies as compared with 16 per cent in St. Louis. At the meeting of the National Crime Commission in Washington last November, the Honorable Hinton G. Clabaugh stated that in Chicago in 1926, out of a total of 211,317 actual arrests in that city, of which 20,186 were for felonies (according to the police department's own report) which the Chicago Crime Commission claims is 40 per cent less than the actual number, only 6,918 were held for trial by the Grand Jury, and of the total number of 211,317,—137,275 were dismissed with no punishment whatever; and that of some quarter of a million people arrested in Chicago annually, only about 450 go to the penitentiary. In the state of Missouri, of the total prosecutions for felonies only 12 per cent reached jury trial. Even in Cleveland, 37.80 per cent of the cases which were sent on after preliminary examinations were, in one way or another, thereafter dropped without coming to trial; and of the total prosecutions only 38.06 per cent resulted in convictions, either of the offense originally charged or lesser offense. In Missouri 26.08 per cent of the prosecutions failed to survive the preliminary examination and only 38.11 per cent resulted in convictions of either the original charge or lesser offense. In St. Louis, out of 1000 cases which had gone through the stages up to and including the court of preliminary examination, over 22 per cent thereafter failed to reach the stage of trial or plea in court.

Our police forces in this country are unquestionably too often far from efficient. A more recent report, made in March, 1928, of the Lowden Committee of the National Crime Commission, calls pointed attention to the lack of satisfactory police forces and the great inefficiency of such forces as we have, and says that in Cleveland the intelligence of the police is in every grade of intelligence below

that of privates in the United States Army and that over 25 per cent of the police patrolmen were found to be of quite inferior intelligence falling in D and E classes, the latter not capable of completing the third grade, which means of the moron grade of feeble-mindedness; that only 33 per cent had an average of C intelligence which means that 58 per cent were C class or below, ranging from those not capable of completing a high school class to the worst of the moron class. "How can such men" asks the report, "be expected or even trained to apprehend criminals?" The Honorable William McAdoo, Chief City Magistrate of New York city, says: "London has 23,000 policemen, New York has 11,000. New York really needs about 33,000 policemen." He further says: "With the modern mechanism of crime they (criminals) are escaping detection and arrest in a large percentage of cases. A young fellow about to become a gunman can be previously told by his associates that he runs a comparatively small chance of being arrested for any robbery he may commit. The number of robberies is out of proportion to arrests."

Pistol-toting is one of the greatest plagues and disgraces in this country. Frederick L. Hoffman, Consulting Statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, has recently said: "In most sections the unrestricted sale of firearms and ammunition is essentially the cause of our extraordinary and deplorable record of murder in contrast to the murder death rate of practically every other civilized country in the world. Nowhere else, so far as I know, are pistols so frequently carried as in this country and so easily obtainable and so generally misused as they are here. Restrictions upon the sale of firearms is a governmental duty which should have been fulfilled long since." Judge William McAdoo of New York says of the pistol that "it is the curse of America and is more plentiful in this country than lead pencils in the hands of both law-abiding and law-breaking people. * * * If it were left to me, the first thing

I would do would be to outlaw the pistol, so that anyone possessing a pistol would be on the defensive as to character and intentions." Most of you may know that not even the police in England are armed with pistols. They do not need them because there nobody else has them.

The connection between corrupt politics and law enforcement is often close and most pernicious. Professor Raymond Moley says: "The whole process of justice from arrest to pardon is colored, if not dominated, by political influences.

* * * After an experience extending to an intimate contact for several years with this question, a contact which has included participation in the two major investigations of the field made in Cleveland and in Missouri, I am brought to the conclusion that of all causes of the mounting tide of crime in America, the political aspect is most important.

* * * The institutions which are charged with the law enforcement are too intimately bound to political interests.

* * * Thirty years ago, the government of the American city was called a failure by Lord Bryce because its politics had become utterly corrupted by public contracts and public utilities. Today, most of the politics that have been driven out of those more profitable interests have found lodgement in the processes of justice."

Defects in Administration of Criminal Justice. Anti-quoted technical rules of law and procedure and of the admissibility of evidence far too often hamper the effort to learn the facts in our criminal courts. Too many appeals are allowed on senseless technicalities without merit. In California a conviction for murder was set aside on the ground that the indictment did not allege that the person murdered was a "human being."

There is too little control by the judges of our courts of the trials therein and of court procedure, and too much control and too much latitude in the conduct of trials is allowed to lawyers often unfortunately unscrupulous in the exercise of their power.

There are defects in our jury system. One of the greatest is the failure to obtain representative citizens for service on juries, or their insistence on, and success in obtaining, excuse from serving.

Chief Justice Taft who spoke before the National Crime Commission in Washington chose the subject of juries and their defects as the subject of his talk before that commission. Incidentally, Mr. Taft has said that the administration of our criminal jurisprudence is a disgrace to our civilization; and if anybody is in a position to know he is.

There is too much delay in trials after arrest. Sometimes it goes from month to month while the offender remains at large on bond and continues his career of crime. There is often unconscionable delay in the matter of appeals, so that if a new trial is granted witnesses cannot be found, public interest is gone and the offender never comes to trial again.

Irresponsible professional bondsmen are uncontrolled and are a dangerous nuisance in our administration of criminal justice. Too often the bondsman who is allowed to bail offenders has no financial responsibility and often times works hand in hand with the criminal whom he bails. The last report of the Lowden Commission has made some pertinent and constructive suggestions in regard to this abuse.

Most of you perhaps know of the suggestions made by Governor Smith of New York state in regard to having criminal sentence or disposition made of offenders by experts rather than by judge or jury,—a most far-reaching and progressive step.

Unquestionably, in my opinion, the headlining of crime by our press and the great amount of detail which is printed in regard to crime and criminals is a dangerous influence in our national life. I have, in my own experience, known boys who were unquestionably influenced to acts of serious crime by reading of crime in the daily papers and who have

become schooled in its technique by knowledge gained from the same source. I question, too, if the press is not engendering in large elements of our population, a morbid and unhealthy interest in crime by endeavoring to compete with the yellow press and the tabloids in the dissemination of stories of crime and criminals. I believe that for their own protection, the better element of our press should come to an agreement among themselves to limit greatly the amount and kind of crime news they would publish, leaving the less healthy and more lurid details to be furnished by the less reputable section of the press, which would, in my opinion, eventually tend to disappear through the forces of competition.

In sum, too many criminals escape arrest; too many who are arrested are not brought promptly to trial; there are too many improvidently bailed, often for long periods; there is too much delay in prosecution; too much delay after conviction, in case of appeal; too much maudlin and morbid interest on the part of the press and the public in criminals and crime news; and often too many are released without good cause by pardon and sometimes on parole.

Jails. Our jails are generally pest houses and breeding places of crime, rather than places where crime is prevented and cured. Those who are confined are kept in forced and compulsory idleness, generally in filth; many of the inmates are often infected with loathsome disease; and the worst elements of our population are there herded together with nothing to do except to indulge in vice, often of the most degrading sort; and there everyone learns from all the rest of vice and crime. In them, disease, vice and vermin flourish and no reformation is accomplished. From intimate association and contact over a period of years with one of these institutions, I know whereof I speak, and I say advisedly, that the time ought not to be long delayed when these places, as at present maintained, should be done away with; and that, when this is done, one great step will have been

taken toward reducing crime. Judge Edwin O. Lewis of Philadelphia, has recently said: "I know of no criminal ever sentenced by me without an endeavor to give consideration to environment, to the misfortunes of birth, to temptations, and to the horrible consequences of confinement in one of these antiquated institutions that we maintain in Pennsylvania under the names of jails and penitentiaries. For I have never been able to forget that the citizens of this state compel the judges to sometimes send young boys, young men and young women who are first offenders to a place where they can only be made worse, and cannot possibly come out better."

Penitentiaries. Our penitentiaries ought to be, to a far larger extent than they are, real training schools where their inmates can be educated in useful trades, so that they will be equipped to pursue some useful occupation when they are released. The state ought also to secure, or assist in securing employment for them upon their release and ought to throw about them the protecting influences of supervision and aid against former associates and former influences which tend to draw them back to lives of crime, to which at present they are almost compelled in many cases to return, through lack of proper companionship, supervision and assistance and their inability to obtain lawful employment. As Robinson says in his "Penology": "A prison should be regarded as a great social factory turning out a definite product—namely, men less prone to crime than they were before entrance. It should be made to do efficient work in eliminating crime. If it is worn out or obsolescent, it should be thrown on the scrap heap. But how little attention is paid to prisons!"

Need for Better Crime Statistics. There is a great need in this country for real statistics in regard to crime and criminals. We do not know what the real situation is nor where we are in the matter. Oscar Hallam, Chairman of the Section of Criminal Law of the American Bar Associa-

tion, has said: "No attempt has been made to collate country-wide information as to any crime except homicide. As to other crimes, there is no general source of information. * * * A physician would not treat disease without knowledge of all the symptoms. * * * Yet, we are obliged to treat crime and discuss crime problems without much of a semblance of understanding of the extent and scope and history of it or of facts necessary to fix the blame for failures. The same scientific methods which have proven so necessary to success in all other fields of human endeavor are entirely wanting on any broad scale in dealing with crime."

Results and Benefits of Newer Methods

Among the most important of these newer methods, may be mentioned the indeterminate sentence, parole, suspended sentence and probation. I do not deal with the subject of psychiatric, mental hygiene clinics, though I believe that one field perhaps offers greater hope than any other in conjunction with probation.

Indeterminate Sentence. The indeterminate sentence is obviously a much more sensible and scientific method than the old inflexible fixed sentence based on the nature of the crime rather than on the individual's traits and tendencies and the promise the individual apparently has or develops which indicate the probability of his adjusting to normal social environment and leading a useful life in society. It has, I doubt not, come to stay.

Parole. Parole and indeterminate sentence go really hand in hand. When the offender is deemed to be in a condition which indicates that he has a reasonable chance of adjusting in normal life he is released on parole and is given aid and help toward adjusting himself in his life outside of prison walls, under supervision. And if he does not make good, or if it is found that he is not safe to be at large, he is returned, instead of being freed at the end of his sentence to resume or continue a life of crime without society's hav-

ing any further hold over him or his harmful activities. Time does not avail to discuss this subject at any length. Those who desire to pursue the subject further will find much of interest in the address of the Honorable Hinton Clabaugh before the National Crime Commission at Washington last November, in which he deals very interestingly with parole in the state of Illinois and points out that only eighty parole violators were returned to the penal institutions and reformatories of that state for violation of the terms of their parole in the year 1926.

Suspended Sentence. Under the suspended sentence the offender is given a chance to make good and to resume life in society rather than being imprisoned at state expense. He has been convicted and he knows that imprisonment faces him if he does not meet the terms and conditions under which his sentence is suspended. If properly administered, the suspended sentence would induce in the offender an attitude of appreciation of the clemency extended him by the court and a determination to prove that the trust imposed in him has not been misplaced. He has the opportunity to rebuild his own career and fortunes, to remain or to become an economic producer in the community and have the companionship of his family and be the support of his dependents rather than to be cared for at public expense.

Probation. Probation is often used in conjunction with suspended sentence, especially in case of adults. It was first used under authority of the Massachusetts statute of 1878. It has been called the greatest forward step in criminal jurisprudence in a century. My own judgment is, that it is probably the greatest forward step which has ever been taken in criminal jurisprudence. Its great benefits, not only in economic saving but in the individual's social future, are known to you without their recital by me. Not only are those placed on probation saved from the stigma of prison experience and saved from the contaminating effects of association with more hardened criminals, but the system

results in lessening of the economic drain on the community as well as retaining the person on probation as an economic producer in the community instead of his being supported at public expense. The average cost of supervision of an offender on probation is fifteen dollars to eighteen dollars per year; the annual cost of imprisonment per person is from three hundred dollars to four hundred and fifty dollars per year. Then too, the knowledge that the court and the probation officers gain under the system of probation enables them to do constructive work with the probationer, not only preventing future crime on his part, but also helping to plan a real constructive future for him. Thus probation is both preventive and constructive in its nature. Punishment is at best a method of defense; as Sutherland in his "Criminology" says: "The logical policy in regard to crime is the policy of prevention. Punishment is at best a method of defense; prevention is a method of offense. It is evidently futile to continue to take individual after individual out of the situations in which they became criminals, punish them, and permit the situations to remain in other respects as they were. A case of delinquency is more than a physiological act of an individual; it involves a whole net work of social relations. And if we deal with that whole set of social relations, we shall be working to prevent crime." Probation, and the courts using probation recognize this and work to that end with excellent results.

It is interesting to draw a parallel between the professions of law and medicine in the matter of preventive work. Medicine, through the application of methods of discovering the causes of disease and the application of preventive measures toward their eradication, has, to a large extent, done away with the great plagues of disease such as small-pox, yellow fever, bubonic plague and to a large extent even of typhoid, malaria, etc. The law has lagged behind until recent years in the application of preventive measures in dealing with crime. But equally effective results have

been found to attend the application of such measures in criminal jurisprudence as in medicine. In Massachusetts, which was the first state in this country to resort to the extensive use of probation, statistics show that about 80 per cent of both juveniles and adults placed on probation have been restored to civil life as useful citizens with no further criminal record. In New York state of 19,000 placed on probation 78.2 per cent have made good. In England, where probation has been extensively used in recent years, results have been equally satisfactory.

During the past summer, I devoted considerable time to digging from the records in the criminal courts of Norfolk information on which I later based a study of the crime situation there, the result of which I submitted to the city council. That report was entitled "Some Observations on the Crime Situation in the City of Norfolk, Virginia," and reads as follows:

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CRIME SITUATION IN THE CITY OF NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

Much has been heard in this country in the past few years in regard to crime waves.

There has been no crime wave in this city during these years. On the contrary, during the past ten years the volume of crime has apparently steadily decreased.

For the five years from 1918 to 1922, both inclusive, the number of indictments presented to the Grand Jury for felonies, that is for all offenses except for violation of the prohibition law, was 2,728. For the five years from 1923 to 1927, (ten months of 1927), the number of such indictments presented to the Grand Jury was 1,331—less than half the number for the previous five years.

The Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court of this city was established and began to operate on January 1st, 1919, that is during the first of the above mentioned five year periods. The result of its work has been obvious during the second of these five year periods. Not only has the number of felonies presented to the Grand Jury been less than half of what it was during the first five year period, during the second five year period, but also a mere fraction of one per cent of all juveniles, that is, all persons up to eighteen years of age, who have been before the juvenile court for violation of the law, have ever subsequently been convicted of any criminal offense. Approximately 8,000 children have been before the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court as delinquent children, that is for violation of the

law. Of this number less than sixty have ever been convicted of any criminal offense after having passed the juvenile court age of eighteen years, which number is less than three-fourths of one per cent. Of this number who have subsequently been convicted of criminal offense, less than half have been convicted of felony.

During the nine years period from January 1st, 1919, since the juvenile court was established, approximately 3,600 indictments for felony have been presented to the Grand Jury; of this number only 25 have been persons who had been before the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court as delinquent children, that is as offenders against the law while under eighteen years of age.

Evidently, the army of crime has had but few young recruits from this source in Norfolk. And yet, generally, this has been just the source from which a large proportion of adult criminals have come, when their earlier offenses and tendencies have not been dealt with and corrected. The very small number of these delinquent children who subsequently have been in the criminal courts in this city is all the more striking when it is realized that statistics abundantly indicate that ordinarily the great proportion of criminals are persons who have begun to violate the law in their early years, especially in the years from thirteen to eighteen.

When it is taken into consideration that criminal statistics show that approximately three-fourths of all crimes are committed by persons under twenty-eight years of age, the small number of persons in the local criminal courts in the past ten years, who have been before the juvenile court before reaching eighteen years of age, become all the more remarkable, since a considerable proportion of these persons have reached or passed the years or ages during which crimes are most frequently committed.

Statistics and observations also clearly suggest that a very large proportion of juvenile crime is committed by children who come from homes in which the father has deserted and failed to provide support, making it necessary for the mother to become the wage earner, thereby leaving the children at home without proper control. The fact that approximately \$10,000.00 per month is now being paid by such husbands and fathers for the support of more than 1,100 mothers and children in more than 300 homes, under the order of this court, allowing the home to be properly maintained and the mother to remain therein, is unquestionably having an important and noticeable effect on juvenile delinquency. It is important to note that during the year 1927, 68 reconciliations have been effected between husbands and wives who had separated, and who have now re-established their homes, in nearly all of which there are children.

The law has been less quick to perceive the value and efficacy of preventive work and methods in dealing with crime than has the medical profession in combatting disease. Results equally as beneficent await the application of measures of prevention by criminal jurisprudence as have been applied by the science of medicine in the field of health. The law, through such courts as the juvenile and domestic relations courts, may go even further. It may by constructive work, aid in the making of desirable and worthy citizens of many of those who have been offenders. A beginning, at least,

has been made in this direction in this city. Its results have been to some extent indicated in the figures set forth above.

Respectfully submitted,

H. G. COCHRAN,

Judge, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court.

I believe that the dissemination of such information as to the results of modern methods of dealing with crime is one of the most useful means of convincing the public of the efficacy of such methods and of securing more extended use of such methods. I suggest that it might be both interesting and useful to other localities to disseminate information as to the results of these methods in their communities. As Robinson says in his "Penology": "Appalling is the ignorance of all but the few executives and the few students who have been led by some chance fancy to study the problem of punishment. They and the great army of almost inarticulate criminals are alone informed."

The science of medicine has, by the application of preventive measures, to a large extent, wiped out the great plagues of disease in civilized nations. In order to rid society of the incubus of crime, measures of prevention must likewise be applied in criminal jurisprudence. And the application of preventive measures is probably the only thing that will solve the problem—which does not mean, of course, that we shall at once be rid of all crime, by any means. Perhaps we never shall be free of it. But it is interesting and significant to compare the results attained by probation, with the fact that 50 to 60 per cent of the inmates of our jails are repeaters and recidivists, and that 30 to 40 per cent of the inmates of our penitentiaries are recidivists.

It is furthermore both encouraging and significant that, since 1910, when preventive measures had begun to be, to a considerable extent, applied as a treatment of crime, the volume of crime has very noticeably decreased. Figures published by the Federal Census Bureau give the number of commitments to prisons and penitentiaries in this country

in 1910 as 479,787; for 1923 as 357,493, a decrease of more than 120,000 or 35.4 per cent. It is likewise very significant that the largest decrease occurred in the group from 15 to 17 years of age, in which there was a decrease of 43 per cent, this being the age group in which probation was most extensively used.

Conclusion

The most essential elements of these new methods of dealing with crime may be said to be (1) the individual treatment of offenders. (2) The application of an intelligent program of reformation and education in the case of those who are at large on probation and under suspended sentence, as well as to those confined in institutions. (3) Real follow-up and supervision of those who are on probation and parole, and (4) use of punishment as a last resort and for a specific purpose.

Individual treatment of offenders. Instead of fixing our attention solely on the offense which the individual has committed, we study the individual himself, his characteristics, capacities and social relationships; endeavor to find the causes of his offending and to eradicate those causes; and to substitute in the life of the individual influences and environment and activities which will tend to shape his interests and activities along social lines and in social directions, rather than antisocial. The purpose is the rehabilitation and restoration of the individual offender to society as a useful citizen. Too long has the emphasis in the problem of crime been placed on vengeance and punishment in dealing with criminals en masse and as a class. We have long ago realized in other lines of social work that social problems can only be solved by attention to the individual. Fortunately we are beginning to realize it in the field of crime.

In the place of antisocial conduct and tendencies on the part of the offender, constructive social activities and en-

vironment must be provided. After the causes of the trouble have been ascertained by an investigator of the court, then the program of constructive treatment must be substituted by the court and probation officer.

The real test and touchstone of these new methods is an adequate follow-up and supervision by properly qualified and trained persons. There is very little hope or chance of securing satisfactory results unless terms of probation prescribed by the court or the conditions of parole are met. Tendencies and habits are not changed in the twinkling of an eye; change comes as the result of time and continued effort. And real supervision and friendly contact are essential to satisfactory results.

Let us not be, however, too optimistic. As Louis Robinson, in the Lowden report, says: "Science has as yet gained little foothold in the work of protecting society from crime." It would be foolish to delude ourselves by entertaining the idea that even the best application of these new methods will immediately or soon do away with the necessity of punishment. There are going to be criminals and probably a considerable number of them who will not, or cannot, respond satisfactorily to other methods than punishment. Such will have to be dealt with sometimes by confinement as punishment, perhaps more often by confinement for purposes of segregation with a view to the interest and safety of society. But little hope remains of achieving results from the erstwhile imprisonment for fixed periods of those who violate the law.

Louis Robinson in the Lowden report says: "The evil consequences to society itself of shutting a man away from his fellow beings have finally come to be recognized. The loss of earning capacity, the loosening of family ties, the social stigma, the possibility of contamination, the weakening of morale, the difficulties of readjustment are evils borne not alone by the man who undergoes the imprisonment but by the rest of us who cannot, no matter how hard

we try, cut ourselves loose from the criminal. We suffer with him, not mentally to any great extent perhaps, although the faithful adherence to any kind of religion would cause us to do so, but practically from the loss of money taken from us through taxes for his support, and from further injuries which this man, less suited than ever to dwell in society because of his enforced absence from it, is likely to do to us. Imprisonment is therefore not something to be used lightly without thought of the damages it may do."

One final caution should probably be voiced. We should not attempt to apply these new methods until we have the necessary machinery and agencies in order to apply them adequately and properly. To administer these methods poorly will tend to bring them into disrepute and often times do more harm than good. In the words of the Honorable Newton D. Baker at the meeting of the National Crime Commission last year: "I think we ought to be pretty resolute in saying to our friends at home that we believe in probation; that we believe in parole; but we believe in their being resorted to only to the extent that adequate agencies have been provided to make them really effective for the purpose for which they are set up."

DISCUSSION

BERNARD J. FAGAN (Chief Probation Officer, Children's Court, New York city): I do not think we should compare the larger communities in America with the communities in England unless we go into statistics rather thoroughly. No one in dealing with criminal statistics should compare London with our large cities without taking into consideration the different customs and language. The English who come over to our court to study scarcely recognize the country they are in because the languages heard on every side are Russian, Italian, Polish, etc., instead of English.

We shall get nowhere in the larger cities unless more intensive Americanization work is done. Restricted immigration has given some of us a chance to get a breathing spell. No one who works on the seacoast and sees the ships dumping thousands of immigrants each month, can fail to realize that the present crime situation is the result of unrestricted immigration. Those who study housing conditions in the large centers know where crime breeds.

Many cities are doing Americanization work which is bound to have results. Large cities for the most part are trying to do away with the con-

gestion in the tenements. The Judge spoke of the Governor of New York state and his recommendation for disposition of offenders by a committee of experts. He is interested in a still larger job,—that of the abolition of tenements, which are the nurseries of vice and crime and the breeders of immorality.

When the youth of today is brought up where the sunshine flows into his room and a fair living wage is paid, the criminal will disappear.

Fundamental Causes of Family Disruption

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For generations we have been accustomed to think of the family as the fundamental unit of society and of family life as the highest and finest product of civilization. We have felt that anything which tended to weaken or destroy the age-old institution of marriage would inevitably seriously impair the whole social fabric and eventually undermine our civilization. So strong has been this belief in the inviolability of marriage that the institution itself has been invested with a sort of sacred awe which has made it difficult for those who recognize its limitations, and seek to adjust its difficulties to make any appreciable progress.

This refusal to examine into and attempt to correct conditions which have produced so much unhappiness and have been responsible for so many broken homes has brought about a violent reaction against marriage on the part of a considerable group of intelligent people. They argue that the home in the traditional sense of the word has broken down and that marriage has proved a failure. They plead for the freedom of the individual and the right to withdraw at will from a union which has lost its interest and its charm.

There is, however, a rapidly growing sentiment in favor of a frank facing of facts regarding marriage, and an intelligent effort to remove the obstacles to a successful adjustment of marital difficulties. This paper seeks to point out some of the fundamental causes of those difficulties.

Present-day Civilization

There has always been maladjustment in family life but there are perhaps more factors in our present-day civilization which make for uneasiness and discontent in marital relationships than ever before. The crowding of people into cities, the multiplication of interests outside the home, the complexities of industrial life, the ease of transportation, the increasing absorption of women in business, the love of pleasure, false marital standards fostered by much of our cheap literature and drama, the lessening of the influence of organized religion in the lives of young people, the high cost of bearing and rearing children—have all contributed immensely to this end.

*The Family Defined**

The family has been defined as "a unity of interacting personalities." The successful stabilized family possesses certain essential characteristics. First, there must be a common objective for the sake of which the various members are ready to subordinate their own aims. Second, there must be active cooperation in terms of personal service within the home and of participation in the community life outside the home. Third, there must be attitudes of mutual affection, sympathy and respect, as well as of loyalty and responsibility toward the group. That family begins to break down whose members insist upon sacrificing the welfare of the group to the satisfaction of their personal desires and refuse to cooperate with the others toward the common end.

Fundamental causes are back of such surface indications as "Poverty," "Desertion," "Drunkenness," "Immorality." Basic factors after all must be rather generally alike for all types of family disruption. It is the real job of social work to determine what these basic factors are. At present

* The definition given in this paragraph and the causes listed in the two paragraphs cited are adapted from E. T. Krueger's "A Study of Marriage Incompatibility" published in *The Family*, April, 1928.

we are simply scratching the surface in our treatment of marital difficulties. We shall commit an unpardonable breach of faith if we fail to keep step with facts which the social sciences are uncovering, or neglect to study and attempt to interpret in the light of the above, the repeated phenomena coming to the surface within our own experience.

Outstanding Conflicts

There are certain outstanding conflicts or "tensions" as they are often called, which are responsible for the disorganization of family life. Among those most commonly found are age, religion, race, culture, temperament, appetites and habits, individual capacities and abilities, relationship between members of the family, health, economic conditions, sexual response and the fear of pregnancy. Any of these conflicts alone may be sufficient to bring about disorganization of the family. In some cases several conflicts are interrelated. Bad early training which gives rise to low ideals of home life and of personal obligation plays a large part in the maladjustments of married people.

Stories from Life

There were Mr. and Mrs. Stern, for example. He was a Jew of good family background,—an ex-service man, prominent in the American Legion in his community. She was a Gentile, the weak member of a family of fairly good social standing. They were married after the birth of their first child. They lived together for three years, during which time two more children were born. Because of the marriage Mr. Stern was estranged from his family. He established his home in Newark away from his friends. His income was not large and her wants were many. They were in continuous conflict because of the difference in religion. His bitterness was increased because of his distress over the separation from his family. He was quiet and home-loving. She was gay, restless, extravagant. Her house

was ill kept and her children neglected while she sought diversion outside the home. He resented the filth, the disorder, his wife's neglect of the babies and her ceaseless discontent. She found fault with him because of his failure to provide adequately for her needs, and his unwillingness to share her gay social life. His steadily increasing indifference to her drove her to seek an emotional response outside the home. After the discovery of her relationships with other men, he left her and returned to his own people. It was while she was in the hospital following an attempted abortion that the family came to our attention because of the necessitated placement of the children. For their sake—they were little more than babies,—we tried to make an adjustment between the parents, but we realized almost from the beginning that the marriage could never be a successful one. There were too many conflicts,—race, religion, temperament, habits, sexual response, poverty,—and there was neither sympathy nor respect nor affection to help them overcome their difficulties.

The Newtons are another mismatched couple. Edith was only sixteen when she married a man, thirty-eight. She had been reared in a home where constant quarreling was the order of the day, and where charges of infidelity were repeatedly made by both parents. At twelve years of age when her father finally deserted, she had no respect left for either parent and a hearty contempt for the institution of marriage. She was cynical, selfish, deceitful and unscrupulous. In the foster homes in which we placed her, she refused to respond to affection, resented authority and was constantly creating difficulties which in the end forced her removal from the home. At sixteen she chose to return to her mother and sisters but was so discontented in the family group and in her job that when, after an acquaintance of a few weeks, Mr. Newton asked her to marry him, she agreed at once as an immediate escape from a bad situation. Here we have differences in temperament,—Mr. Newton was

quiet and settled in his habits and tastes. In capacities and abilities,—she was much cleverer than he. There was an abnormal difference in age, a total lack of sexual response on the girl's part and an attitude toward marriage which made an adjustment impossible. She frankly admitted that she had never had any affection for Mr. Newton and that she had never had any idea that her marriage would be anything more than a temporary solution of her immediate difficulty. Even her baby, of whom she professed to be very fond failed to keep her interested in maintaining her home. She left her husband a number of times before their final break, but always tried to keep the door open for a return if life became a little too difficult on the outside. In that home there was no common objective, no readiness to cooperate for the welfare of the group, no attitude of affection, sympathy or respect. Pure selfishness on one side and thorough disillusionment on the other! Such a marriage could not possibly survive the difficulties of personal adjustment.

Mr. and Mrs. Kronos were born in Greece but came to this country when they were quite young. They were married in Brooklyn eighteen years ago. Mrs. Kronos has a number of relatives here who are prosperous, respected citizens. Her husband has no relatives but many friends who seem to be people of standing in their communities. Mr. Kronos was of a restless, roving disposition. He had traveled from state to state in search of work, ruthlessly uprooting his family to suit his pleasure. He was the head of the household and his word, reenforced by his fists, was law. He ruled the family through fear. When his oldest daughter was thirteen, he subjected her to an act of sex perversion and his wife discovered it. She resented it and protested to him about it, but he was the ruler of the household and she submitted. Then something happened. The case came to our attention and Mrs. Kronos discovered that in the eyes of the law her husband was a criminal and

liable to a severe penalty. Immediately their relationship was changed. From one of power his position became one of subservience to her. It was his turn to be afraid. She broke up the home, placed the children, appeared against him in court, which ruled that she never need live with her husband. In this case, the members of the family had cooperated in services, one to the other, not because of their mutual affection, but through the drive of fear. The change in the positional relationship of man and wife swept away the traditional foundation of the home and the family was completely disorganized.

Mr. Berger by way of occupation drove a brewery wagon. He was an enormous man, six feet eight in his stocking feet and he weighed almost three hundred pounds. In his mental and emotional development, however, he was scarcely more than a boy. He had two children by his first wife who, so far as we could learn, was a meek, placid individual completely under the domination of her lord and master. After her death Berger married again. This time he chose a woman with a very positive personality and real strength of character. She too had been married before. She had lived a very happy life with her first husband who had been in every sense of the word a real mate. They had one son who had a crippled leg. When we first knew them the Bergers had two adorable children of their own. Both parents were devoted to these youngsters but were constantly quarreling over the others. Mr. Berger resented his wife's tenderness toward her crippled lad and insisted that she was unfair to his children. His attitude aroused an antagonism to their stepmother in his children who developed serious behavior difficulties. Mrs. Berger kept a spotlessly clean home, was an excellent cook, an efficient manager, a devoted mother and a faithful wife. She gave excellent service to her husband and his family but she refused to be dominated by him. She had been used to the wholesome give-and-take of happy married life and she would

not submerge her own individuality to suit her husband's pleasure. Her refusal to send her fourteen year old, handicapped son out into the world to support himself was the final step in the disorganization of the family. His children were placed in foster homes, he found himself a boarding place, Mrs. Berger did "day's work" and the little children were left at a day nursery. Mr. Berger, however, missed his well-kept home, his wife's excellent cooking and the little children. After a year or two he proposed to his wife that he board with her and sleep next door. Peace reigned for only a short time; however. His resentment at her independence of him,—this was her home,—and his hatred of her son gave rise to quarrels which increased his bitterness toward her. Before long their communications with each other were confined first to messages through the children and then to occasional written orders to one another. The second and last break in the family unity soon followed. In this case selfishness, jealousy, the desire of the man to dominate a woman his superior mentally, and a quick stubborn temper in each made any permanent adjustment impossible in spite of certain satisfactions experienced in the form of physical comforts and a common devotion to their children.

Mrs. Barber is a very superior little woman, the mother of four children to whom she is devoted and to whose care and training she is giving intelligent attention. She was brought up in an institution and she wants more than anything in the world to maintain a real home for her children. Her husband, a man of good family, was gassed while he was in service. He used to be devoted to her and the children, but he is now suffering more and more frequently from spells of intoxication at times approaching delirium tremens, and his habits and his attitude toward her and the children when he is not himself are disgusting in the extreme. His mental disorder and his physical demoralization are the fundamental causes which lie back of the drunken-

ness, the infidelity and the filthy habits which are making the marital relationship unbearable. The fear of another pregnancy,—the youngest child, a frail, sickly little thing, is only two months old,—has produced a tension which is having a very bad emotional effect upon Mrs. Barber and is driving him to excesses outside the home. She has begged to be supplied with contraceptive information and believes that with the establishment of a more normal sex life within the home, she may be able to help him to withstand the temptations on the outside.

Mrs. Baker came to us almost two years ago with the story that her husband was a dope fiend and that he was a member of a ring which was disposing of drugs contrary to law. She claimed to be in mortal fear of him and begged for protection for herself and her four children. A careful investigation brought to light facts which indicated that Mrs. Baker had spent some months in a psychopathic hospital in a distant city and that her stories about her husband were probably hallucinations. She was persuaded to enter a hospital for treatment and we placed the children. Mr. Baker made a fairly good salary and was amply able to provide for his children. While his wife was away, however, he failed to pay their board regularly and we practically clothed the children. He himself was always well-dressed and we heard stories about the gay parties he entertained from time to time at the house. He visited the children and his wife every week and displayed real affection for them. Mrs. Baker returned from the hospital at her husband's solicitation but against the advice of the psychiatrist. It was possible for us to talk the whole situation over with her frankly and freely at that time. She explained to us that the greatest cause of conflict in the home was her husband's selfishness which manifested itself in his insistence upon providing adequate food, good clothing and personal pleasures for himself regardless of the family needs, and in his excessive sexual demands upon her. They had been

married ten years and she had been pregnant eleven times. Although he was fond of his four children, he resented each pregnancy on the ground that they could not afford another child and had insisted upon the abortions. She had broken physically and mentally under the strain and dreaded the thought of living with him again for fear of a new pregnancy. An appointment was made for her at the Birth Control Clinic in New York and the whole situation was gone over very carefully with Mr. Baker. Close supervision of the home has resulted in a better understanding between husband and wife and a much better cooperation in the care and training of the children who had been emotionally disturbed by the tension in the household. The saving factor in this family situation was the attitude of affection which made it possible to secure cooperation in the elimination of some of the causes making for disruption.

When we first knew Mrs. Brown she had a nice little home and two well cared for children. At that time her husband had fallen in with bad company. She came to ask us how to help stop his drinking and keep him working steadily. He was weak but he loved his wife and family and we succeeded in steadying him and maintaining for a time a decent standard of living in the home. Then the children began to arrive very rapidly. With the advent of the fourth child, Mr. Brown began to lose his grip again. He was an unskilled laborer and his income was so small that he grew discouraged because of the many demands of his growing family. Mrs. Brown has now had her eleventh child. Her husband is completely demoralized and she, broken in health and spirit, has deteriorated into a scolding, nagging, shiftless creature, totally incapable of meeting the physical, mental and moral needs of her numerous children, who are spending long hours on the streets and among evil associates. Capable of doing a really decent job with a small family, they have found their present responsibilities too great for their limited abilities. The man

is still in the home but the actual disorganization of the family is complete. Lack of stamina, poverty and ignorance of methods of family limitation have been the fundamental causes of disruption here.

Causes of Family Disorganization

And so we might go on, citing case after case of maladjustment. Mental defect and mental disorder, industrial inefficiency, lack of self-control, absence of a sense of responsibility, differences in age, race, religion, culture, temperament, jealousy, interference from outsiders and the like all contribute their share to the disruption of the family. Perhaps to a greater extent than any other one factor sex incompatibility, including lack of response or excessive demands plays an important part. As we review the cases of family disorganization known to us among our clients and among our friends, we are impressed with the fact that few of those in which real affection exists and few where common interests have formed the bond actually reach the point of complete disruption. Given one or the other of these factors there is the possibility of adjusting other difficulties. But, failing both, there is little that is substantial on which to rebuild the structure of family life.

Society's Faith in the Family

In spite of all its limitations and its many difficulties of adjustment for the individuals involved, however, most of us feel that monogamy is biologically and socially sound. Society is manifesting its faith in the family in the many attempts which it has been making through the years to provide more adequately for it. Mother's aid, taxation adjustments, foster home care for motherless children, maternity benefits, baby bounties, the family wage, preferential employment of family men, cooperative housing enterprises, all express society's faith in the value of home life and the development of its future citizens. Society, how-

ever, has shown a surprising lack of wisdom in neglecting to give any sort of training to its young men and women which will prepare them in making satisfactory adjustments to the many difficult situations involved in married life.

The Social Workers' Part of the Program

Our part, then, as social workers, is to study the family in the light of all the scientific knowledge available and to seek with sympathetic understanding to adjust the difficulties between the man and woman whose marriage is drifting toward disruption, while at the same time we attempt more earnestly and more intelligently to educate and train our young people for marriage and parenthood.

If the marriage of the future is to be successful there must be specific information concerning the nature of family life, more efficient economic administration of the household, more careful selection of a mate, a better understanding of the sex life and of the art of love, greater concern for the development of the individual, more scientific knowledge with reference to family limitation and a more intelligent understanding of children and their problems. Above all our young people must be taught that marriage is not a static institution, a mold into which every one must be pressed regardless of personal differences; a price to be paid for certain social privileges. It is, instead, in the words of one of the younger generation who has tried it, a "pulsating, dynamic, ever changing, ever new social process, more vital, more important, more pregnant with physical, mental and psychical meaning than any other known or imagined human relationship." To him it is the "most difficult, the most lied about, the most misunderstood, and the least studied of human institutions; but the most interesting, the most exciting, the most worth while and the most satisfactory experience known."

If, in addition to the specific information necessary for the proper functioning of the family, we can give our young

people this vision of the beauty, the romance, the spiritual value of the great adventure which lies before them, future generations will need to concern themselves far less with the disorganization of the family.

DISCUSSION

HON. CHARLES W. HOFFMAN (Judge, Court of Domestic Relations, Cincinnati, Ohio): There is less known about the causes of family disruption than almost any other problem. Throughout the country, rumor has it that because of divorce, the American family is disintegrating. We hold that this is not true. The American home is in the same position it has always been. Because there is a small percentage of the population who come into the divorce courts is no sign that family life is being undermined. The divorce colony is not the group the public conceives it to be. The federal government records in regard to marriage and divorce are absolutely fallacious and unreliable. The federal government will tell you that there are a number of divorces classified under gross neglect, extreme cruelty and like causes, when I may know, in a certain case, that the real cause of divorce is adultery, but it is classified under the heading of gross neglect. These terms, therefore, so far as government records are concerned, indicate little.

What causes the disillusionment of the 200,000 families who seek divorces annually, and what shall we do about it? These matters require careful investigation.

HENRIETTA HART (American Birth Control League, New York, N. Y.): I should like you to study unemotionally and impartially some statistics on the birth control movement in other countries. They may possibly offer a solution to some of the problems now confronting us. The birth control program has been effective in Holland for forty-five years. It has not made for immorality, but has increased respect for the sanctity of life and promoted the health of the mother and child. The dropping birth rate is more than compensated for by lessened rates of infant and maternal mortality and of prostitution and venereal disease.

ROBERT TALLMAN, Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court of Denver, Colorado, speaking from the floor, emphasized the need of education for marriage and parenthood, including family limitation. He suggested that such training, where it cannot be given in the home, should be a part of the school program. For adults who have never had the benefit of sound teaching in this field, he believes courses might well be opened in the local "opportunity" or vocational school.

BERNARD J. FAGAN (Chief Probation Officer, Children's Court, New York, N. Y.): I am in full accord with the teaching of sex instruction so far as it does not interfere with any function ordained or designed by God. The birth rate in this country is low. We have a lower infant mortality than any other country. Our per capita in wealth is higher than that of any other country in the world. Most divorces occur among families where there are one or two children and among childless couples.

HON. H. G. COCHRAN (Judge, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Norfolk, Va.): I have been very much struck with two things commented on

by Judge Hoffman and Miss Condit. One is our ignorance of the real causes of family disruption and family troubles. This offers a wonderful field for study. As Judge Hoffman has said, probably nine times out of ten the real causes in back of the trouble never come out in a divorce court. The second thing which appeals to me is the knowledge we should have about family relations today and the apparent causes of failure in these relations. There is an education for family life and parenthood and yet this education is not given.

LINCOLN FROST (Secretary, Department of Public Welfare, Lincoln, Nebraska): Our legislature a few years ago passed a law which provided that in default divorce cases and in cases where minor children were involved, the court might appoint a probation officer to make an investigation. It is not an ideal arrangement and I do not claim it as such, but it certainly has done wonders in helping us get at the real facts in divorce suits. The officer may be of the regular probation staff of the juvenile court, or the court may appoint a special officer, but we now get the real facts in most of the divorce suits. Attorneys have objected to this, saying: "It is not regular; it is not judicial; it is not the proper way of trying a law*suit." Some of the judges handle it by getting the information on the side. Others handle it by allowing the probation officer who makes the investigation to testify in court. It seems to me the latter is the logical method. In this way you have in the record the information the court has before it. It is certainly proper that it should be there to be considered by the parties.

The Child, The Family, and The Court

A brief report of a study made by the Children's Bureau

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For a number of years the Children's Bureau has been making studies of juvenile courts, of which the most comprehensive were the questionnaire study of 1918, covering all courts in the United States hearing children's cases, and the study of the organization and methods of work of ten juvenile courts in large cities, published under the title, "Juvenile Courts at Work." In the course of these studies the Bureau naturally became interested in the jurisdiction over certain types of adult cases, for example, those contributing to the delinquency or dependency of children, which most juvenile courts exercise to a greater or less extent, and in the development of special courts with jurisdiction over domestic relations or family cases.

The Establishment of Special Courts

The movement for the establishment of special courts having jurisdiction over family problems has progressed along two different lines which have tended to converge in the "family courts" of the broadest jurisdiction. The earliest development was the extension of the jurisdiction of juvenile courts. The first juvenile courts were given jurisdiction over children's cases only. Very early the necessity of clothing the court with power to deal with certain types of closely related adult cases became apparent. Colorado was the first state to enact, in 1903, special legislation making contributing to delinquency or dependency an offense coming within juvenile court jurisdiction. Nearly all juvenile

courts now have jurisdiction over certain types of adult cases, though the nature of this jurisdiction varies greatly from state to state.

In 1909 New York state, in a law applicable only to the city of Buffalo, provided for the first court of domestic relations exercising jurisdiction in adult cases but not in juvenile cases. A special division of the city court of Buffalo was created in January, 1910, in accordance with this law, with jurisdiction over all criminal business relating to domestic or family affairs, including bastardy cases. By an amendment passed in 1924 made possible by the Constitutional amendment of 1921, equity jurisdiction as well as criminal jurisdiction was conferred upon the Buffalo court. In a number of cities the example of Buffalo has been followed in setting apart by law or rule of court a division of a municipal court to deal with domestic relations cases, chiefly non-support and desertion.

In 1913, four years after the passage of the law establishing the Buffalo court, the first "family" court in the United States to exercise jurisdiction over both domestic relations and juvenile cases was created, in Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio, as a division of the Court of Common Pleas. For the first time divorce cases were brought under the jurisdiction of a court especially organized to deal with cases affecting child welfare and family life. Similar courts have been established in six other Ohio counties, and in certain other communities. The Cincinnati court has been regarded generally as the pioneer in the "family court" movement, as distinguished from the domestic relations court with adult jurisdiction only.

In commenting on a recommendation of the National Probation Association, made in 1917, for the establishment of "family courts," Judge Edward F. Wait of Minneapolis said:

"In this grouping (of cases) there appear to be three underlying ideas: the interest of the state in the conserva-

tion of childhood, the intimate interrelation of all justiciable questions involving family life, and the need for administrative aid in the wise solution of such questions."

At the present time the term "family court" or "court of domestic relations" (terms often used interchangeably) is employed to indicate different types of organization, including at least the following:

(1) A family court of broad juvenile and adult jurisdiction, including children's cases and cases of divorce, desertion and non-support, and contributing to delinquency and dependency. The Ohio courts are examples of courts of this type.

(2) A family court with juvenile and limited adult jurisdiction, illustrated by the Virginia courts, the Jefferson County (Birmingham) Alabama court, and the St. Louis court.

(3) A juvenile court which is given broad jurisdiction, not including jurisdiction over divorce. The Denver court is the outstanding example of courts of this type, which includes many of the juvenile courts of the country.

(4) A domestic relations court without juvenile jurisdiction, and with adult jurisdiction only over cases of desertion and non-support, and sometimes illegitimacy and certain offenses against children (divorce not being included). The domestic relations courts of Buffalo, Chicago and Boston, and the family court of New York City are of this type.

(5) Municipal and district courts with juvenile and domestic relations jurisdiction and special organization, by law or rule of court, for domestic relations work. Among the courts of this type are the Philadelphia Municipal Court and the district courts of Springfield, Massachusetts, Douglas County, Nebraska, and Polk County, Iowa. The two latter courts have divorce jurisdiction.

Unified Courts and Probation

Unified probation departments, usually serving a county, have been established in a number of communities where no unified family court has been created. Through these departments, serving several courts, a considerable degree of coordination in the social treatment of family problems can be accomplished. Programs of county organization for social work, designed primarily for rural communities and small cities, may make social service by a unified county department available to all courts.

In spite of the diversity of organization indicated by these various types of courts the family court movement has gained wide recognition in the past 15 years. The principle of a unified court dealing with juvenile and family matters has been accepted in at least one important community, in nine states and the Territory of Hawaii. In other states the juvenile court has adult jurisdiction which is sometimes so extensive as to make it in reality a family court. The domestic relations court with adult jurisdiction only has been established in parts of four states, and in other states special divisions have been established by municipal and district courts with juvenile and adult jurisdiction.

Family Courts

It is apparent that the "family court," or "court of domestic relations" embodies two desires—first, to extend the new method of legal treatment of certain classes of cases, best exemplified in juvenile courts; and, second, to prevent duplication of jurisdiction by various tribunals. In other words, these new courts involve a problem of legal procedure and a problem of judicial organization.

Public interest in the family court is increasing. Each year proposals are made for legislation establishing new courts, many of which are ill-considered and without an adequate basis of information concerning the operation of existing court systems and the legal framework and social

setting in which the new courts must find their place. Some years ago the Children's Bureau began a study, the aim of which was to show: (1) the place of specialized family courts in the juridical structure; (2) the development of specialized courts dealing with juvenile and family problems; (3) the present judicial organization for dealing with these problems; (4) the proportion of cases of delinquency and dependency which also involve cases of other types, for example, problems of non-support or desertion; (5) the organization and methods of work of courts especially established to deal with the cases included in the study, and the extent to which they are equipped to give constructive social service; and (6) in the light of these facts, to determine the general outlines of a program for more effective judicial organization in this field.

Comments on the Study

A chart was prepared, showing for each state the courts having jurisdiction over cases covered by the study. Statistical studies were made in Cincinnati and Philadelphia,—in the latter city with the assistance of the statistical department of the court,—to ascertain the extent to which the same family was being dealt with in cases of different types. Visits were made to nearly all the courts with special organization for dealing with family cases. A number of juvenile courts with broad adult jurisdiction were visited. Thorough study of the case work done was not attempted, but information was obtained for each court concerning jurisdiction, personnel (including method of appointment, salaries, qualifications), methods of receiving complaints and of adjusting cases without court hearing, methods of investigation, hearings, court orders, probation and other follow-up work.

The report will be published in two separate parts, the first of which is nearly ready for publication. In addition, the legal chart will be published separately. Part one pre-

sents a general review of the legal aspects of the subject, the efforts made to provide methods of organization and treatment adapted to modern conditions, and the degree of success obtained, together with suggestions as to the general principles which should govern the establishment of new courts or the reorganization of existing courts. In the second part will be discussed in greater detail the jurisdiction, organization and methods of work of the individual courts studied.

Mr. Bernard Flexner of New York, and Mr. Reuben Oppenheimer of Baltimore, who wrote for the Children's Bureau the monograph on "The Legal Aspects of the Juvenile Court," have collaborated in the planning of the study, have given advice throughout its progress, and are joint authors, with the speaker, of part one of the report. This paper is almost entirely taken, verbatim, from the manuscript.

The Hearing at National Probation Headquarters

The Children's Bureau has been in touch with the Domestic Relations Court Committee of the National Probation Association throughout the study, and with Mr. Bradway of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations and Mr. Zunser of the National Desertion Bureau. Manuscript copies of part one, which includes the general recommendations growing out of the study, have been submitted to all the members of the joint committee of the National Probation Association and the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations, and also to the following: Dean Roscoe Pound and Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School; Dr. Ernst Freund, Professor of Law, University of Chicago; Dr. Sheldon Glueck, Department of Social Ethics, Harvard University; Judge Edward F. Waite, Minneapolis; Judge W. Bruce Cobb, Secretary, Courts Committee, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities; and Patrick J. Shelly, Chief Probation Officer, Mag-

istrates' Court, New York. The Bureau is deeply indebted to these experts for the care with which they have read the manuscript and the very valuable criticisms and suggestions they have made. Their suggestions were considered at a committee meeting called by the National Probation Association in New York, April 25, 1928, and a number of them have been incorporated in the manuscript. Those present at the meeting were Miss McChristie, Mr. Chute, Mr. Bradway, Mr. Zunser, Judge Ricks, Judge Cobb, Mr. Shelly, and the authors of the report.

The Study in Brief

Time permits only a brief review of the outstanding facts brought out by the study. At the present time in most states jurisdiction in juvenile and domestic relations cases is divided among (1) specialized juvenile, family or domestic relations courts; (2) criminal courts; and (3) courts of probate and chancery jurisdiction. Attempts to consolidate jurisdiction, therefore, must take into consideration these three classes of courts, constitutional limitations relating to the establishment of new courts, and the vested jurisdiction of existing courts.

Original jurisdiction in criminal cases is usually divided between courts of summary jurisdiction (justices of the peace, municipal courts, police courts) with power to dispose of minor cases immediately and to hold more serious cases for the grand jury or the court of general criminal jurisdiction, and courts of the latter type which deal with cases on indictment or information. Sometimes the same domestic situation may be dealt with as a misdemeanor and disposed of in a municipal or police court or as a felony and dealt with by the grand jury and higher criminal court. This is particularly true of non-support and desertion cases. In fact, in some jurisdictions three or four types of courts may be dealing with non-support.

On the chancery and probate side in many states cases

of adoption and guardianship are dealt with in the probate or county court and cases of divorce and annulment in a court of general civil and criminal jurisdiction or a chancery court without criminal jurisdiction.

Counting Court Systems

A count was made of the number of different court systems in each state which have jurisdiction of the various cases included in this report, excluding specific offenses against children. These cases included the following: children's cases covered by juvenile court laws; cases of contributing to delinquency or dependency of children; cases of desertion and non-support of children; cases of divorce and separate maintenance and annulment of marriage; proceedings for the establishment of paternity and the enforcement of support of children born out of wedlock; and cases of adoption, guardianship of the person, and commitment of mentally defective and insane children. Juvenile or domestic relations courts in each instance have been considered as separate courts even though they are divisions of a larger court which may also be included. Local courts which may have jurisdiction under special laws or under ordinances not published in the codes have not been counted.

In California, the Superior Court in juvenile session or in regular session hears all these cases. In only ten states and the District of Columbia is jurisdiction over the cases specified divided among as few as two or three courts. In nineteen states, four or five courts may have jurisdiction; in thirteen states six or seven and in five states eight or more.

Certain types of judicial organization greatly simplify the problem of centralizing jurisdiction. For example, in certain western states such as Nebraska and Iowa, the district courts are courts of very broad general jurisdiction, including cases under the juvenile court law, non-support and desertion cases and divorce cases. There it was possible

without any special legislation to reassign cases and create a special docket establishing divisions of domestic relations of broad scope. In contrast to the relatively simple situation in these states is the very complicated system in New York city, where jurisdiction is divided among a number of different courts.

With reference to all the classes of cases included in this study, large possibilities exist in a number of states for further consolidation of cases in the juvenile or family division or for utilization of the social service machinery of that division by other divisions of the court of which it is a part, without legislative action.

To eliminate piecemeal justice in the field of domestic relations has been one of the aims of the family court movement. That there is a real problem in the overlapping of jurisdiction in cases involving the law of domestic relations, that a number of courts may be passing upon what are only different phases of the same problem, is evident. Relatively little information is available, however, concerning the actual extent to which the same families are dealt with by more than one court or in more than one type of juvenile or domestic relations case.

Study of 5,286 Families

As part of this inquiry, the Children's Bureau studied 5,286 families dealt with in 1923 by the Cincinnati domestic relations court, probate court, and Humane Society (which acted as a probation department for the municipal court) in cases of the types included in this investigation. One-eighth of the families (12.6 per cent) were dealt with in more than one type of case during the year. Among the children's cases, dependency and neglect were most likely to occur in combination with other types of cases, 41.2 per cent of the families known in dependency or neglect cases being also known in cases of other types, usually non-support or desertion or divorce. Among the families dealt with

in cases of desertion or non-support, 28.2 per cent were also dealt with in cases of other types, for the most part either children's cases or divorce cases, while almost as high a percentage (25.9) of the families dealt with in divorce cases were known in cases of other types, chiefly cases of desertion or non-support.

The Philadelphia Study

In Philadelphia information was obtained by the Children's Bureau, in cooperation with the statistical department of the court, concerning 6,728 families dealt with by the municipal court in the month of October, 1923. Divorce cases and certain other types of cases included in the Cincinnati figures were not included in the Philadelphia statistics. Of these families 6.5 per cent were dealt with in more than one type of children's or domestic relations case during a single month. During the year ending October 31, 1923, 13.8 per cent of the families dealt with in children's cases, 13.7 per cent of those dealt with in non-support or desertion cases, and 19.8 per cent of those dealt with in illegitimacy cases have been dealt with in cases of other types during the year.

A special analysis of the relation between non-support or desertion and delinquency was made. In a group of 1,323 Philadelphia families dealt with in non-support or desertion cases involving children between the ages of ten and twenty years, 230 (17.4 per cent) had one or more children known to the municipal court at some time because of delinquency or crime.

Of a group of 284 families with children to which divorces were granted in Philadelphia during a certain period in 1923 and 1924 selected for study, 12.7 per cent were known to the municipal court during the year in which the divorce libels were filed, and a total of 46.8 per cent had been known in that year or prior thereto, practically all of them to the domestic relations division of the court.

Conforming to Standards

The figures thus indicate an amount of overlapping of juvenile and family cases that is worthy of consideration.

The report includes a summary of the extent to which the domestic relations courts now in existence conform to generally accepted standards of juvenile court procedure. It must be borne in mind, however, that these juvenile court standards have not yet been fully put into practice in juvenile courts themselves, with perhaps a few notable exceptions. Moreover, with a few exceptions no attempt has been made to modify the rules of criminal procedure as applied to cases involving non-support and desertion (aside from those dealt with by juvenile courts under contributing to dependency laws) or offenses against children.

In a majority of the communities included, the establishment of family courts brought to the consideration of cases involving family problems, judges who regarded this work as a specialty and who were sincerely interested in developing better standards. This situation did not exist, however, in some of the courts, especially the domestic relations courts without juvenile jurisdiction, where the periods of service were usually very short.

In a majority of the courts probation officers were appointed from eligible lists established through competitive examinations. Salaries were markedly inadequate in ten of the eighteen probation departments serving large cities for which information on this point was obtained. For the most part, probation officers did not have adequate preparatory training and experience, and in all but five or six courts the probation departments were so undermanned that the officers were carrying excessively heavy case loads, and could not possibly give adequate attention to the cases entrusted to them. Officers supervising adults were usually responsible for a much larger number of probationers than were officers supervising juveniles.

In most of the courts considerable emphasis was placed on unofficial adjustments in non-support and other domestic relations cases, as well as in juvenile cases, and a comprehensive technique had been worked out in some courts. Conciliation service in divorce cases had been relatively less developed. In the majority of courts field investigations were made in some or all of the non-support and desertion cases, comprehensive studies being made in a few courts; husbands and wives involved in non-support cases were not given physical or mental examinations except in occasional instances, or where obvious need for examination was present. Field investigations were made in divorce cases in three of the seven courts with this jurisdiction.

Court proceedings in non-support and desertion cases and other domestic relations cases, excluding divorce, were for the most part simple and informal, and persons not concerned in the cases were not usually present. In some courts, however, these conditions did not prevail. Little change had been made in divorce procedure except in one court.

In only five of nineteen courts with juvenile jurisdiction was even fairly intensive case work done in cases of children on probation. Methods of collecting money through the court in non-support and desertion cases had been fairly well developed, though in some courts no automatic follow-up of delinquent accounts was made. Family case work was attempted by nine of the eighteen courts exercising jurisdiction in non-support and desertion cases, for which information was secured, but inadequate staff in most of them made it difficult or impossible to do intensive work. Little or no follow-up supervision was given in divorce cases involving children, though assistance in collecting alimony was usually available.

Social records in most courts did not give an adequate picture of the problems involved or the work accomplished.

Juvenile Court Work

One of the questions which the investigators had in mind in making this study was the effect upon juvenile work of consolidating jurisdiction over juvenile and certain types of adult cases. In the study of the Ohio courts special attention was given to this matter. So far as could be observed, the only serious difficulty involved in the exercise of the extensive jurisdiction which these courts possessed was the overloading of the judge with divorce cases. The proportion of the judge's time devoted to divorce business was naturally much greater than the proportion which the divorce cases bore to the total number of cases dealt with, inasmuch as all divorce cases were heard by the judge while many of the other cases, especially in Cincinnati, were handled unofficially by the probation department. Moreover, contested divorce cases often occupied a very much longer time than cases of any other type. Of the four Ohio courts studied, all except Youngstown were devoting three and a half or four of the five and one-half working days of the week to the divorce business of the court, and in Youngstown two and one-half days were given to this business.

The organization of the St. Louis domestic relations court had practically no effect upon the work of the juvenile court, inasmuch as the juvenile and domestic relations divisions were entirely separate. Juvenile court work in New York state and in Virginia was greatly strengthened by the legislation establishing, in New York, county juvenile courts, and in Virginia, county and city juvenile and domestic relations courts. In the case of most of the juvenile courts with broad jurisdiction, adult jurisdiction had developed gradually, and as a result there had been no disorganization of the juvenile work. The adult jurisdiction of the Philadelphia municipal court had little effect upon the work of the juvenile division, inasmuch as the juvenile work and the

domestic relations work were carried on by separate divisions. Each of these divisions had the services of the medical department, the central record bureau, the statistical division, and other service divisions maintained by the court.

Combining Juvenile and Adult Business

Where the combined juvenile and adult business is not too heavy for one judge, and the juvenile work alone would not occupy his full time, the combination of juvenile and adult jurisdiction has made it possible for the judge to devote all his time to problems connected with child and family welfare. With a few exceptions, probation officers already engaged in juvenile work have not been burdened with adult cases as a result of the organization of family courts.

In some cases, juvenile court work undoubtedly has been damaged through the effect the family court movement has had upon public opinion in the community. Frequently, the juvenile court has come to be regarded as an accomplished task, as a foundation upon which the structure of a family court could be reared, when as a matter of fact the juvenile court itself needed constant attention and intelligent criticism in order that it might be made to fulfill its aims. If the new machinery and the new technique developed for juvenile court work are not properly fulfilling their functions in children's cases, it can hardly be expected that new functions will be better performed.

This is not to say that the juvenile court necessarily must be continued as a separate court, or that the extension of the new technique to cases of adults is inadvisable, but that every question of change of court organization or court technique with respect to domestic relations, involving the juvenile court, should be considered in the light of its probable effect upon the handling of children's cases. This point of view would lead to different results in almost every juris-

diction. In some cases it would lead to temporary abandonment of proposals to consolidate in one court all cases of domestic relations, and to a re-vitalized interested in the work of the juvenile court. In other cases where the material for the application of the new technique is better and more plentiful, it might lead to the establishment of an omnibus court which, depending largely upon the volume of business, would operate either as a unit or in two parts, one of which would deal with cases involving adults and the other with cases involving children. In still other cases, it would lead, perhaps, to two separate courts, a domestic relations court and a juvenile court.

Establishment of Family Courts

In none of the communities described in the report has a family court been developed, which exercises complete, exclusive original jurisdiction over cases of all types included in the study. Attempts at consolidation have succeeded, here with reference to one aspect of the problem, and there with reference to another. In a number of communities the establishment of a family court has not eliminated overlapping jurisdiction. Non-support cases, for example, are often heard in two different courts, even where a family court has been established. Large possibilities of consolidation without additional legislation exist in such communities through court rule, agreement among prosecuting authorities, and increasing public knowledge of the function of the family court.

In our opinion, any attempt to judge the efficacy of existing courts by a standardized outline of a so-called "model court" would be actually detrimental. Experiments in the treatment of the different types of cases are greatly to be desired, and local situations must determine what parts of the problem shall be the first to be attacked. It is extremely helpful to the whole movement, for example, when a court in one locality undertakes a demonstration of what social-

ized treatment of non-support cases really involves, while a court in another community may be undertaking the development of such methods of cooperation with courts having divorce jurisdiction as will insure adequate treatment of matters affecting the custody and welfare of the children involved. In considering any particular type of case with reference to any given local situation, the question "How can adequate administrative standards in this field best be developed?" should first be answered.

Utilizing Outside Agencies

If it is to be successful a family court must utilize to the fullest extent other social agencies in the community. Not only does a large part of the work carried on by family courts belong functionally as much to these other agencies as it does to the courts, but in many cases the outside groups are able to supply service which the court is not equipped to give.

Of course, these outside agencies may have the same shortcomings which the family courts experience. Or they may not be properly orientated among themselves, and, as a consequence, their work may overlap as much as the old courts are accused of overlapping. Or, as this study discloses, the family court and the outside organizations may themselves overlap in their endeavors. Once more the difficulty of formulating a general rule, without reference to local conditions, becomes apparent.

If the resources of the community are inadequate to meet the needs discovered, it is the duty of the court to inform the public from time to time and to cooperate to the fullest extent with other agencies in obtaining more adequate provision. For example, sufficient resources for foster home care and institutional care of children may be lacking. Facilities for family welfare service, including help in budget-planning and in adjusting various family difficulties, may be inadequate. Provision for diagnosis and treatment of

mothers and fathers incapacitated by physical or mental disability may be insufficient. For obtaining these and many other items of an adequate community program, the court shares responsibility with other organizations.

The Value of Research Work

Few courts of any type are equipped to do research work. Child guidance clinics working with juvenile courts in a number of communities have been accumulating information concerning the causes and methods of treatment of delinquency, which is invaluable as a basis for developing programs of treatment and prevention. In the field of marital maladjustments and other domestic difficulties research is equally necessary, but as yet little has been attempted. Exceptions are the studies of men and women involved in a selected number of domestic relations cases in the Detroit recorder's court, made by the late Dr. Jacoby, director of the psychopathic clinic of that court, intensive study and treatment of a limited number of neglect cases, carried on by the psychopathic clinic maintained in connection with the juvenile court of Detroit, and studies of causes of marital difficulties in a group of divorce cases dealt with by the Cincinnati court. Some of the municipal courts, for example those of Chicago and Philadelphia, have a psychopathic laboratory or neuropsychiatric division. For the most part, however, family courts or courts of domestic relations cannot be expected, under present conditions, to be equipped with facilities for scientific research. Just as the child guidance movement has been initiated and for the most part carried on by private effort, so might non-governmental endeavor be directed toward the establishment of domestic relations clinics, possibly in connection with legal aid bureaus. These clinics should be equipped to render diagnostic service and unofficial assistance in the medical, psychiatric, and social fields to those asking help in solving difficulties connected with marital or other family relation-

ships or referred by courts for such service. Such organizations, besides being of immediate assistance to the families with which they come in contact, would make available for the first time a factual basis for programs of prevention and treatment and for measurement of the efficiency of legal and non-legal institutions as agencies dealing with family maladjustments.

Conclusions Growing Out of Study

In this examination of the child, the family, and the court certain facts have been set forth and certain opinions of the writers based upon these facts expressed. The problem is extremely complicated, and often the same set of facts may be interpreted in different ways. The general conclusions growing out of the study, as viewed by those who have had it in charge, may be summarized as follows:

1. In considering the attitude of the law toward domestic relations, two factors must constantly be kept in mind: First, that law is a process of social engineering, that the organization of the society with which it deals is changing, and that it must discover and perfect new tools to fulfill its functions; second, that it is necessary to ascertain and deal with the facts, that sentimentalism is as dangerous as ignorance, and that changes in legal processes should be conditioned upon practicability.

2. Great need exists for extending the new judicial technique as rapidly as possible to matters bearing upon family relations which come within the scope of this report. This technique includes informal adjustment of cases not requiring official court action, thorough social investigation, physical and psychiatric examinations when necessary, informal hearings conducted with a minimum of publicity, and constructive supervision of probationers. Without doubt the ideals of justice can be achieved more nearly by these methods properly administered, than by wholly legalistic methods of dealing with the cases.

3. Because of variation in local conditions, a nation-wide formula for the adjustment of family problems coming before the courts is impossible. Wide differences exist not only in constitutional provisions and court systems, but also in the degree of public interest in a social approach to legal problems involving child welfare and family life. Nevertheless, efforts of all interested groups should be directed toward the establishment and maintenance of tribunals that will have broad powers to deal with family problems.

4. The proper treatment of children's cases must be assured in every jurisdiction and every locality. If the resources of the community are inadequate to meet the needs discovered in day-by-day contact with juvenile problems, it is the duty of the judge and executive officers of the staff to call public attention to the lacks disclosed, and to cooperate with other agencies in obtaining the facilities required. The juvenile court requires continuing study, constructive criticism, and constant support by the public, whether it continues to exist as a separate court or becomes part of a court of broader jurisdiction. In general, where juvenile courts have been established they should be brought to a high standard of efficiency before an attempt is made to extend their jurisdiction further. It may be, however, that in a given situation it would be easier to obtain adequate administrative machinery for the juvenile court if it were absorbed into a new court with broad jurisdiction, but the plan for administration always should be worked out carefully in advance.

5. The new judicial technique seems particularly applicable to non-support and desertion, the support of children born out of wedlock,* and certain offenses against children, especially contributing to dependency and delinquency. Some of these methods, especially investigation, should be extended also to cases of adoption, guardianship of the per-

* Adjustment without official court hearing should not be permitted in illegitimacy cases unless paternity is acknowledged and the settlement approved by the court as making adequate provision for the child.

son of children, and commitment of mentally defective children.

Divorce cases present special problems. Only a minority of divorce cases (somewhat more than one-third) involve children. Where children are concerned three questions must be decided: (a) severance of marital relationships; (b) custody of children; (c) alimony.

The problem of ascertaining the real causes of marital difficulties and of adjusting them without resort to divorce procedure is of the most delicate nature, and at least under present conditions is not one which courts are equipped or can reasonably be expected to become equipped to solve. The question of whether or not a divorce should be granted is governed by well-defined rules of substantive law, and the new methods of procedure developed in juvenile courts do not apply. Moreover, the addition of divorce jurisdiction to the family court tends to overload it with cases not involving children.

Alimony and custody are subject to the continuing jurisdiction of the court and the new technique of investigation and supervision is required in order to safeguard the interests involved. The possibility of vesting in the juvenile or family court jurisdiction as to divorce cases involving children, or as to custody of children and alimony for the support of children, merits careful study and experimentation.

6. Depending upon local conditions, social treatment of the cases mentioned above may be developed in one unified court having also juvenile jurisdiction, in one court with separate branches for juvenile and domestic relations work, or in separate juvenile and domestic relations courts. Unified jurisdiction is desirable when it can be obtained without the sacrifice of more important ends.

7. Wherever jurisdiction over domestic relations cases can be centered in one court by some working agreement

on the part of the several judges, such action appears to be more desirable than appeal to a legislative body, provided that an adequate social service staff can be maintained. This plan lacks the dramatic quality of the establishment of a new court, but it has the advantage of ease of accomplishment and flexibility.

8. Attempts to obtain the passage of legislation providing for the establishment of family courts or courts of domestic relations invariably should be preceded by careful study of the constitutional and statutory provisions of the state regarding courts and court systems, study of existing methods of dealing with juvenile cases and adult cases involving family problems in the locality which the proposed court would serve, and education of the public as to the need for socialized treatment of juvenile and family problems, its cost and its value.

9. Whatever jurisdiction is vested in a juvenile court, a family court, or a court of domestic relations, the following conditions are essential if it is to develop into an efficient instrument of social justice:

(a) Freedom from political influence and selection of judges and probation staff based on qualifications for the work to be performed.

(b) Ample financial support, permitting the employment at adequate salaries of a staff sufficiently large to render all the service required in each case.

(c) Recognition of the fact that the socialized treatment which the court is intended to give can be performed only by men and women fitted by nature, education and experience to carry on the delicate tasks intrusted to them. The services of the social case worker, the physician, the psychologist, and the psychiatrist, all are necessary to the proper development of this new legal institution.

10. To supplement the work of the new courts, and also to render services in courts organized along the old lines,

pending the extension of the new technique, the work of legal aid bureaus and other social agencies should be strengthened and extended.* The staffs of these organizations should have a proper understanding of the functions and methods of the new courts and should maintain close cooperation with them.

A valuable contribution could be made toward the understanding and solution of marital difficulties and other domestic relations problems if funds were made available for the development in selected communities of domestic relations clinics, staffed by psychiatrists, psychologists and social investigators. These clinics should be available to any person desiring help in adjusting troubles growing out of the marital relation.

11. Finally, there emerge from this study the significant facts of overlapping jurisdictions, inadequacy of treatment, and other failures of law to meet the family problems coming within its scope. Public responsibility for the correction of these conditions must be fulfilled though the particular types of organization selected for dealing with them may vary.

* See "Growth of Legal Aid Work in the United States," by Reginald Heber Smith and John S. Bradway, with Preface by William Howard Taft, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 398, Miscellaneous Series, Washington, 1926.

See also Report of Joint Committee for the Study of Legal Aid of the Association of the Bar of the city of New York, Welfare Council of New York city, with Foreword by John W. Davis, 1928.

Community Responsibility For Delinquency

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It may seem strange for anyone from Chicago and especially a social worker to come to this conference and presume to talk about community responsibility for delinquency and crime, for the name of our city has come to be synonymous with crime all over the world and many of our juveniles are no longer merely delinquent but they commit crimes for which men are hanged or sent to the penitentiary for long sentences. I feel, however, that we have had a great opportunity to see results and that our experience is valuable. I only wish that I were better able to interpret the community influences in Chicago which we know contribute to the delinquencies and crimes of young people.

After taking into consideration all biological weaknesses and defects, all hereditary tendencies, all economic conditions which deprive children of the right and privilege of physical care, education, vocational training and cultural opportunities, what next? What about the so-called community responsibility? Are there other factors outside the family and the home but in the community which may contribute to the demoralization of all children, the weak and the strong, the privileged and the underprivileged? We think there are and that they represent certain tendencies and standards in modern life—in business, recreation, politics, the administration of our laws—standards which we adults, to all appearances at least, accept and approve of.

Let us remember that geographical boundaries do not mean much today. Modern inventions, the radio, the

automobile, the printing press have made possible an interchange of thought, of speech, of personal contact. Business corporations manufacture and distribute wholesale papers, books, magazines, popular music and moving pictures. No community lives unto itself whether it be within the narrow confines of the city suburb, a "main street town," or a country village of a few hundred inhabitants. Our young people are affected pretty much by the same influences wherever they happen to live—Memphis, New Orleans, New York, Chicago, or our rural towns and cities. No community can complacently say "our young people are safe because we have such and such conditions in our town."

We must remember also that while we have made great progress in protecting the child—guarding his physical well-being, detecting his defects and retardations, treating his delinquencies—and have come to look upon him as an individual in our methods of treatment, at the same time he has become less individualistic in that the community plays more and more a part in his life. Family life is giving way to community life and there is a trend away from the family to neighborhood and community recreation. No parents or home can shut the community out.

The Schools

The child makes his first community adjustment when he starts to school. Here he begins to demonstrate his mental ability and his social tendencies as a part of a group, and here is our great opportunity to help the child if he is deficient or retarded or antisocial. In this conference I cannot emphasize too strongly the need for the visiting teachers; for child guidance clinics, for every effort that centers in the school for the real understanding and prevention of first delinquencies. Juvenile courts cannot function here, and private organizations will never be adequate to meet the great need. Communities must take the responsibility

of making this preventive program a part of the school systems throughout the country.

Child Labor

Crime commissions do not usually discuss child labor and yet at the National Crime Commission Conference held in Washington, D. C., November, 1927, Professor E. H. Sutherland of the University of Minnesota, in an address on Social Aspects of Crime, said, "It is not at all unlikely that the injury to the welfare of the country by violations of child labor laws as they now exist is greater than the injury from burglary." The most ideal programs in the schools cannot prevent delinquency if children while of school age, or what should be, are to be permitted to experience the hazards, the temptations, the handicaps, the demoralization of child labor. This responsibility is so closely allied with the school that it is perhaps only through a new valuation of education for all children that child labor will eventually be abolished. Surely in this great country we do not need the labor of little children for our pleasure or commercial gain.

Our famous Mayor in Chicago has had as his slogan "America First" and although our city was plastered with the words to help win the last election we still do not know what he means by them. It has become popular in America to want to be first—to have the biggest, the largest, the richest, and the best of everything. When we remember that all leading countries of the western world except the United States have passed national child labor laws regulating school attendance to specified ages so that illiteracy is greatly reduced one wishes that we might include in our ambitions a great campaign to make America first in the abolition of child labor.

The newspapers, the theaters, the movies, child labor lead us to the consideration of special highly organized commercial interests, with their twofold relationship to

childhood and youth, that is, as they profit by their labor and by their patronage. I shall illustrate from the experience of the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago.

We are proud there of our juvenile court with all its departments. In connection with the court we maintain a parental school to which children are sent whose truancies have led to serious delinquencies. A short time ago there were 300 boys at that school, 164 or over 54% of whom had been truants from school, staying away from home and earning their living selling newspapers at night. We paid truant officers to find them, the juvenile court to detain and hear their cases, and the parental school \$50 a month per boy, in an attempt to return them to normal life. Our newspapers are using these little street traders to increase circulation, violating our laws, but what is of more importance violating every principle of child guidance, care and education. Thus we permit a great commercial interest to profit by the labor of our children and contribute to delinquency and then we have to take care of the victims in our public institutions.

Children have also become apparently indispensable to the great theater interests. Child actors have always been popular, but today they appear not only in drama but in moving pictures, in vaudeville and amateur contests. They are encouraged and exploited by the booking agents and the dancing teachers and are a real asset to the theaters, delighting adult patrons and building up an ever increasing audience. The community is co-partner in the exploitation because we buy the children's papers and enjoy seeing them on the stage. As we develop our child welfare programs are we forgetting these two agencies, or haven't we the courage to evaluate their influence? We should win over these great industries to an understanding of child welfare or compel them to observe our laws and standards by the sheer force of public opinion.

Commercial Interests—Patronage

Children and young people have money and leisure today and commercial interests have been quick to realize this and to provide centers of recreation. This is perfectly legitimate. Private philanthropic groups really cannot compete with business enterprises in the number of centers or accommodations for great numbers of patrons.

In a recreation study in Chicago (University of Chicago, 1926) it was found that out of about 3,164 centers found, 2,020 were commercial, 263 public or municipal, 881 privately supported and that each year about 171,000,000 attend commercial recreational centers, 44,000,000 public, 15,000,000 private.

If the city, state and federal governments can control and standardize food, transportation, building, live stock, then surely we may insist on regulation and control of the recreation of young people. We should not be afraid of censure or confuse the protection of youth with the infraction of the personal liberty of adults.

The dance halls, the pool rooms, the road houses, the theaters with their vaudeville and movies, are all community centers. Our magazines, books, papers, songs are community projects which contribute more or less to delinquency because we evade responsibility and leave to the publishers to determine the educational and recreational values of what they sell to our children.

We believe that big business is not only ignorant of child welfare but its mind is set on such large financial stakes that details as they affect human lives are easily lost sight of.

Commercial Interests—Exploitation

On the other hand commercial interests today are not merely ignorant and careless in their appeals, but they deliberately exploit the most sacred instincts and emotions of youth. The war made it possible to practically eliminate the old red light districts but there are new phases and con-

ditions of prostitution. We have the greatly increased problem of homosexuality (at least we do in Chicago) and the most well calculated exploitation of the present liberty of attitude toward sex in various places of commercialized amusement. The majority of girls in our courts are sex offenders and we know all too well how sex delinquencies contribute to a mental, moral, and physical breakdown. Have our communities a responsibility for these delinquencies?

A sixteen year old boy was arrested in Chicago for stealing a bank deposit of over \$1,000. He came from a good home and a good neighborhood. He had wholesome normal interests and was a worker in his church. He had education and opportunities. No one could understand why he took this money until it was finally discovered that first in the Indiana city where he had lived and later in Chicago he had been having sex experiences in houses of prostitution. So far all the scientific understanding and treatment and the constructive appeals which have surrounded him have failed to build up what was broken down by these centers of vice which we could close if we had sense and courage.

Our dance halls in Chicago will not permit liquor to be brought into them, or any one who has been drinking to remain. The owner of one of the largest and best told me recently that he believed he would close because a bootlegger across the street sold so much liquor to young people that in fifteen minutes they took away thirty-five small bottles of the worst kind of gin from boys and girls, who were simply made crazy by it.

The other evening at one of our vicious taxi dance halls, when we questioned a girl's age she gave as proof of age a letter of discharge from probation from our juvenile court. Thus after years probably of patient effort on the part of the probation department, we release this child of sixteen to

Commercial Interests—Patronage

Children and young people have money and leisure today and commercial interests have been quick to realize this and to provide centers of recreation. This is perfectly legitimate. Private philanthropic groups really cannot compete with business enterprises in the number of centers or accommodations for great numbers of patrons.

In a recreation study in Chicago (University of Chicago, 1926) it was found that out of about 3,164 centers found, 2,020 were commercial, 263 public or municipal, 881 privately supported and that each year about 171,000,000 attend commercial recreational centers, 44,000,000 public, 15,000,000 private.

If the city, state and federal governments can control and standardize food, transportation, building, live stock, then surely we may insist on regulation and control of the recreation of young people. We should not be afraid of censure or confuse the protection of youth with the infraction of the personal liberty of adults.

The dance halls, the pool rooms, the road houses, the theaters with their vaudeville and movies, are all community centers. Our magazines, books, papers, songs are community projects which contribute more or less to delinquency because we evade responsibility and leave to the publishers to determine the educational and recreational values of what they sell to our children.

We believe that big business is not only ignorant of child welfare but its mind is set on such large financial stakes that details as they affect human lives are easily lost sight of.

Commercial Interests—Exploitation

On the other hand commercial interests today are not merely ignorant and careless in their appeals, but they deliberately exploit the most sacred instincts and emotions of youth. The war made it possible to practically eliminate the old red light districts but there are new phases and con-

ditions of prostitution. We have the greatly increased problem of homosexuality (at least we do in Chicago) and the most well calculated exploitation of the present liberty of attitude toward sex in various places of commercialized amusement. The majority of girls in our courts are sex offenders and we know all too well how sex delinquencies contribute to a mental, moral, and physical breakdown. Have our communities a responsibility for these delinquencies?

A sixteen year old boy was arrested in Chicago for stealing a bank deposit of over \$1,000. He came from a good home and a good neighborhood. He had wholesome normal interests and was a worker in his church. He had education and opportunities. No one could understand why he took this money until it was finally discovered that first in the Indiana city where he had lived and later in Chicago he had been having sex experiences in houses of prostitution. So far all the scientific understanding and treatment and the constructive appeals which have surrounded him have failed to build up what was broken down by these centers of vice which we could close if we had sense and courage.

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become a prostitute in a place of amusement licensed by our city.

In our road houses,—those new centers of amusement,—we are finding liquor, gambling, prostitution, and a total lack of supervision. They are easily reached by automobile by our young people, who when there are far from the restraining influences of their own homes and communities.

There are too few groups in our towns and cities with any knowledge of what vice, liquor, gambling, unsupervised centers of recreation are doing for their young people.

Community Standards

Conditions of this nature should force a community to take a stand, as it were, to declare its own standards of personal life and human conduct. Shall we demand honesty in the underprivileged, greatly tempted boy and girl and not in our city and state and federal governments? Shall we attempt or at least pretend to enforce the prohibition law in the neighborhood saloon, the foreign homes, and overlook the sale and use of liquor in our clubs, hotels and American homes? Shall we enforce the laws against slot machines in our small stores and in pool rooms where boys play cards and yet gamble ourselves at bridge, at races and games of sport? Shall we stand aghast when our boy criminals expect to buy protection and then read with equanimity about the great slush funds in campaigns for those who represent us in government? Adult standards and community life are confusing our young people. It is comparatively easy to picture concretely and to get sympathy, interest and support for the relief of the poor, for infant welfare, for the care of the sick, and even the treatment of delinquency. When we consider these questions we approach problems which are not clearly defined in our minds; they concern alike the privileged and the underprivileged, the rich and the poor, our clients and ourselves. The citizens of

each and every community must face them today in any adequate program for the protection of young people. Here is a letter from a little town in Montana:

"Dear Editor:

Our women are interested in the justifying of the 18th amendment. I was really almost ready to throw up my hands until I read Evangeline Booth's article in the *Post*. We have a terrible condition here. Boys and girls can obtain the stuff called liquor. It is sold over the counter in our little town here. Also gambling is wide open. I do not mean to say boys and girls get it over the counter. But they get it at dances from bootleggers who ply their trade at every dance. Our officers wink at it. Our daily papers print only the worst side of the law, when anything happens that really is discreditable to the law it is given publicity.

Could you help us with some advice? How shall we go about this thing of cleaning up? Little "coffee pot" stills are taken and the fellows freed. The big fellows who can afford to pay a good toll to officers are not molested. Please pardon all this. If you cannot suggest anything, no harm is done. But if you can we will surely appreciate it. Again I thank you."

And another from a famous suburb of Chicago:

"Dear Miss Binford:

The notorious Capone Gang will tomorrow open their brothel on ——— Avenue. This is the place that was closed by Mr. ——— for a year.

Can't you again lend your good effort to stop this murderous gang of dago killers? The village officials are powerless because they can't overcome the big down town influence of the big political bosses.

You surely can prevail on some one to do their duty to close up this crime nest and save the boys from the ravages of social diseases.

Act quick, please.

Committee of Suburban Mothers."

These letters represent standards and conditions in community life permitted by us and protected by the officials we elect which result in breaking the laws we have passed.

Community Attitudes

We congratulate ourselves today on our attitude toward the juvenile delinquent, our treatment of him, and that we have educated our communities to our point of view, and well we may. We must, however, guard our attitude well. Crime commissions are being organized in many states. I know of only two, New York and Illinois, which have given consideration to juvenile delinquents and the causes of their delinquencies.

What kind of an attitude toward delinquency and crime are we developing when we find in a well-known crime study made in one of our western states this preamble:

*In conducting the survey certain definite limitations were determined, the most important of which were:

1. Only felonies were included in the study of cases, and the survey renounced all concern with minor infractions of the law;

2. Causes of crime were not studied because they are still entangled in unsettled and controversial questions;

3. Penal treatment was not considered except in those aspects which concerned releases from the various institutions;

4. Federal crimes and their punishments were not included;

5. The laws defining crimes and their punishments were not considered;

6. Juvenile courts, women's reformatories, the education and ethics of the bar (except the education of prosecuting attorneys) and such non-official but public agencies as the press and the church were not considered.

The keynote of crime commission reports is all too often

*Missouri Crime Commission Report.

a return to good old fashioned hard justice, a tendency to disregard our newer methods of probation, the indeterminate sentence and parole; a tightening up of criminal court procedure with increased penalties, and the shadow of this attitude is already falling on the juvenile offenders and their treatment. If we, in the preventive, protective, juvenile court and probation movements do not bring our socialized attitude toward crime and delinquency to bear on studies of the crimes of adults, then we need not be surprised when the systems and institutions we have built are challenged and in jeopardy.

Another attitude on the part of the community which we find not only among crime commission members but clubs and even social workers is the tendency to over-emphasize legislation and equipment and forget the problem of the administration of public departments and institutions. I know of a state institution for juvenile delinquents where the conditions today would make all of us hang our heads in shame and yet at various local conferences on the conditions there the one thing that has seemed to appeal and to be significant is that this institution needs more buildings. Perhaps it does but buildings will never change the political appointment of its executives; its cruel discipline; its inadequate system of vocational training, recreation, and parole.

Children's codes, juvenile courts, probation, reformatory institutions, may have ideal structures but without spirit and integrity in administration they are dead as far as any possibility lies in them of understanding and once more rekindling the life of a boy or a girl. Political administrations come and go. One political party may have more integrity and intelligence than another, but it is in the community that there must be no change, no compromise, no personal favors in the standards required of all those who are caring for its children.

Conclusion

It is time that we began to use the psychiatric approach on our communities, to analyze the influences surrounding them and their personal standards as carefully and scientifically as we do the personality of an individual. And when we do this we shall find that the treatment, the follow-up case work, if you please, will involve more complicated situations and conflicts than those of individual cases, for we shall be attempting to adjust not only individuals but groups, business corporations, political parties and influences, public administration and institutions and our own standards of life and living. No one group, be it reform, scientific, or civic, can accomplish this alone. Each may help with the analysis but when all is said and done it is the community itself made up of citizens representing all classes, interests, and nationalities that must assume the responsibility.

There is no better conclusion on this subject to be found anywhere than the closing sentence of Jane Addams' book, "The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets": "We may either smother the divine fire of youth or we may feed it. We may either stand stupidly staring as it sinks into a murky fire of crime and flares into the intermittent blaze of folly or we may tend it into a lambent flame with power to make clean and bright our dingy city streets."

The Young Offender and the Adult

Rhea Kay Boardman

*President, National Association of Visiting Teachers,
New York, N. Y.*

Who is an offender? Webster says "he is one who affronts, who sins against, who transgresses laws, who displeases." Webster also says that to affront "means to insult openly, to treat with insolence." Studying this definition, I wonder if an offender as he is most often understood is not the one who displeases, insults the adult openly, or treats him with insolence. In this discussion there will be considered not only the offender who transgresses laws, but the offender who brings reproaches upon himself in the school and in the home. Many children are reported as problems early in their school-life simply because they have displeased an adult. If the personality and behavior of the child is an offense to the adult, is it right for us to condemn it as such, but never formulate a program by which an attempt is made to train the child so that he will not affront and displease?

Character Training in Schools

Much is being said at this time about character training in the schools. Some schools are setting up character training programs in their curricula. Other schools have definitely mapped out syllabuses and are planning lessons on honesty, truthfulness and politeness. In some instances these lessons are given as an integral part of the school program just as lessons in fractions or punctuation are given. Some schools claim that such a course of instruction does not provide character training material. In considering this whole idea, the glaring fact remains that no matter whether

parents and teachers believe in character education and plan for it formally, character is being formed by them day by day even though they are unconscious of the processes.

A five year old boy was admitted to a kindergarten. At the end of a week he told his mother proudly, "I am the worst boy in school. I talk too much." His mother explained to him that he must learn to control himself and not talk in school. She tried to make him feel that to be the best boy should be his ultimate aim. After a few weeks he came home one day saying that the teacher said he was getting to be the best boy in school.

"I am so glad that you have stopped whispering," said his mother.

"I haven't," replied the lad.

The mother asked for an explanation and this was what her son gave.

"When I first went to school the teacher asked 'who is talking?' I raised my hand. Now when she asks I don't raise my hand."

Was this teacher doing any character training? This young boy had learned in the first month of school that it is not so much what you do, as it is what the teacher finds out, that is important.

In our schools we are apt to overlook the child who does not annoy. It may be that he sits and daydreams while his neighbor is making faces or throwing paper wads. The neighbor who displeases is asked to stay after school and is chastised before the other children. The daydreamer may be planning to do much worse things than the boy who openly annoys. It is difficult for the adult to analyze all factors of the problem. The important question is not, does he annoy me, but, are the things that he is doing detrimental to his future progress?

Home Training

The same conditions are found in the homes. Children are punished because parents are annoyed. If the mother has a headache, or if the kitchen floor has just been cleaned, the children must either come into the house without their playmates and be quiet and orderly, or else they must find some other place to play. It has often been said that cleanliness is next to godliness. Credit is due the mother who has a spotless home. If this cleanliness, however, prevents her children from bringing their friends home with them, or prevents them from playing in their own home, then a little less attention to cleanliness and more understanding of the play life of the child is needed. It is sometimes true that parents are not so critical of the things children do, as they are anxious that the outsider shall not find out about them. Nicholas when he was eight years old stole toys from a large department store before Christmas. He took them home and gave them to his small brothers and sisters. His parents either did not care where he got them or did not take time to investigate. All went well until some of his friends were apprehended at school, and Nicholas was drawn into it. The boy's parents were summoned to school. Contrary to the usual results of such a revelation, the boy's mother was not upset over the fact that he had stolen, but that he had been so stupid as to tell the other boys and get caught. She struck him across the face saying, "Don't you ever get caught again and get me into trouble having to come down here to school."

Another small boy in the same "gang" is never punished at home because his father says, "He is so funny that he gets away with moider." These parents have had no training in parenthood, and aside from providing clothes, food and shelter, they have never taken parenthood seriously. Many of them tell the visiting teacher, "All boys are bad when they are little; when they get to be men, they learn to be good." If the young offender is going to be well adjusted

when he reaches manhood, will there not have to be a "back to the home" campaign which will in some way make the parents understand the significance of some of these early symptoms which point to delinquency?

Today parents are able to get much valuable literature on child training. Such books as "The Child, His Nature and His Needs"; "The Outlines of Child Study"; Dorothy Canfield's "Mothers and Daughters"; and Angelo Patri's works, are only a few of the many recent contributions in this field. The bulletins and pamphlets from the National Committee for Mental Hygiene are all enlightening. Dr. Lawson G. Lowrey's pamphlet, "Points on Child Behavior," presents a challenge to any one working with children. Dr. Douglas A. Thom's contributions are also very helpful. Some high schools giving courses in home economics include a course in home-making for boys and girls which takes up the problems of home training.

Emphasis on Learning Rather than Education

Our whole school system is unfortunate in its set-up. Most of the emphasis is placed upon learning rather than education in the broader sense which means growth. Two pupils in the same grade have difficulty in arithmetic. One boy copies from his neighbor or has some one out of school do the problems for him and receives a high mark. The other boy in the same class does not copy. His parents do not feel that it is right to do his work for him. He receives a low mark. The first boy is not kept after school. He escapes being called "dumb" but he learns early that a good showing in mentality counts for more in school than honesty and perseverance. We must not criticize the teachers, for in a great many schools their efficiency as teachers is rated upon the number of children promoted. Some systems require one set of papers a week in each subject sent to the principal. If the children fail the teacher is called unsatisfactory. It means much to the teacher therefore to

have the pupils pass in perfect papers. It is a long step ahead to reorganize our schools from this idea of perfection in class work irrespective of character training, to a system where the child's honesty, politeness, ability to adjust and agreeableness will be rated as important as his achievements in arithmetic, geography, and spelling.

Truthfulness

Let us consider the topic of truthfulness—the adult sets an example each day. It is a very difficult procedure to teach a small child when all the truth should be told and when only part of it should be divulged. Parents and teachers are frequently admonishing their children to tell them “all the truth.” However, this is sometimes very annoying because the child may tell a caller that she is getting “awfully fat,” when the mother has just been soothing her friend by asking if she has lost weight. In one instance, a mother was trying to decide which relative a guest resembled. The small boy, who had just been to a circus, looked at the guest intently and said, “I think Mrs. Jones looks like a monkey.”

We think nothing of the housewife's telling an agent for carpet sweepers that she already has one in order to get rid of him. We criticize a child, however, for telling his playmates that he has a new wheel or a new suit of clothes when he has none. To be sure the motive is different, but the child does not recognize this.

“Stealing” Webster says “it is to take by theft, to take without leave or right.” A social worker came into a grocery store to talk to the proprietor, who was also the president of the Board of Education, about three small boys caught taking things from the five and ten cent store. During the conversation the worker unconsciously helped herself to a small chocolate cookie from an uncovered box on the counter. When she realized her deed she said to the owner, “Look what I have done. While we were discussing

the three small boys who have taken the articles they admired in the five and ten cent store, I have helped myself to one of your cookies." To this he replied, "We set the cookies there for women to sample and buy them. It is good advertising." When then does "taking" from a counter in a store cease to be stealing and become good advertising?

It would seem that there are at least six reasons for stealing. First, the child may take something he needs. Second, he may take something with which to decorate his person, or boast about to his companions, or to appease his appetite—such as candy or fruit. Third, he may take what does not belong to him in order to give to another.

Raphael, eight years old, took two boxes of talcum powder, two rings and a thimble from the five and ten cent store. These seemed strange things for a boy to desire. When the underlying causes were understood, it was learned that the boy had taken them to give to some little girls in his class. When questioned it was found that he was afraid to fight the boys and that they did not like him. The little girls made fun of him too. He took the articles thinking that if he gave the girls a present they might be nice to him.

In the fourth reason, spite figures. Children often take things "just for spite." A ten year old boy has recently been helping himself to money from his older brother's pockets because the older brother frequently gave money to the four year old brother, but never to him. This was the only way he could think of by which he could get even with his big brother.

A fifth reason is bad companions. Often a boy is admitted to a gang if he will promise to do what the gang leader suggests. He is sworn in to "crook if the others do." A sixth reason is to satisfy unfilled emotional needs.

Analyzing these cases, we realize that stealing "has been used as a pigeon-hole." In many instances the causes for the theft have never been discovered. What should we think of a physician who isolated a patient because of some skin

condition before finding out whether the trouble was measles, impetigo, poison ivy, boils or scarlet fever? We have recently become interested in the reasons why children steal. When we learn what kind of treatment is necessary in each case, then we shall have advanced a step.

Who Is a Truant?

A truant is an offender against adult rules. In every case of truancy, the child is found to be running away from something. It may be from something uninteresting to something more interesting, or it may be that he is simply avoiding the disagreeable. Knowing this, do we, as adults, make things more interesting for the child when he returns? I wonder if we in the United States shall ever be as brave as the educators in the Hamburg school system who allow pupils to stay out of school in order to "go to the docks" when boats are unloading, or to go to other parts of the city if there is something they very much want to see. The most frequent punishment for truancy is to require the pupil to make up the time he has lost. This punishment leads the child to dislike school still more. If he hesitates to play truant in the future it is only because he fears the result of his misdemeanor and not because his teacher or those working with him have made school a place he dislikes to leave because it is so pleasant. Are adults ever truants? Do we ever avoid committee meetings or conferences?

Adult Responsibility

When the offender is brought to court, how many times do we find adults recognizing or admitting their responsibility in the case? Nine times out of ten they testify that they have done everything possible to bring the child up right and lay the difficulty on some one else. If the truth were told in many instances, it would have to be admitted that adults had set bad examples and that the schools were uninteresting and disagreeable. These things are not always

true, but if they are in fifty per cent of the cases, which I think is conservative, then should we not set ourselves the task of working with adults so that society may be sure when the child is brought to court that it is in no way responsible for his bad behavior?

If the child is placed on probation in the same environment and the parents are not given an insight into the causes of the difficulty, they are apt to go blindly on, baffled by the entire situation. The school may also remain unchanged. Both school and home become more critical of every action of the child because they know they are expected to report on him to some outsider.

What Is the Solution?

What is the solution? First of all, more preventive measures! These should begin in the home with boys and girls in their teens before they set up homes of their own. Adolescents should realize that they are to be the future homemakers and that they will need to know something of children and their training.

In many communities the parents are being given opportunities to discuss and study, either in groups or individually, their own immediate child problems. In many more, emphasis is being put upon the child rather than the subject matter. The individual child is being studied in the normal schools and colleges. Teachers are learning to differentiate between that which is annoying and that which is harmful, and the school is recognizing the importance of home environment. In the community the adult should understand and seek better ideals for the child. The child should be looked upon as an individual. The community should be better equipped to care for the mild offender. There is little being done for the type of boy I referred to who helped himself to things in the department store at Christmas time. Parents punish, threaten and nag. The department stores expect the children to take things and re-

fuse to do anything about it. What should be done to correct these conditions and who should do it? Even if we are able to do something, where will the children receive the right training? We have set up institutions to train the real delinquent, but we have few places where the mild offender may be educated.

Why Do Children Fear Adults?

Why do children fear adults? First of all, because we deceive them. A short time ago a twelve year old boy was put in a taxi by his aunt who said, "Good-bye, come back soon."

When the boy reached his destination, he found that his aunt had sent him away to get rid of him. Another boy had to have a tooth pulled. When the morning of his dental appointment came, he refused to go to school. The mother in desperation said, "If you go to school you won't have to have your tooth pulled." This caused much trouble because the dentist who was a busy man disliked to break the appointment, but the visiting teacher did not feel it right to have the tooth extracted after his mother had promised that he should not have it done. Sometimes an adult will get something from a child in confidence and then repeat it. This not only blocks that adult from ever gaining the child's confidence again, but builds up a resentment on the part of the child which is difficult to overcome. One of the best things that the adult can do for a child is to find out what the child wishes to do and help him to do it as well as possible.

The words of Angelo Patri bring this out very well:

"The children come with gifts. Some bear them openly and yield them freely and the spirit of the school unfolds them and lifts them and nurtures them and returns them a hundred fold. Some bear their gifts close hidden. There are years of patient watchfulness and searching. At last the spirit of the school unwraps the treasure and lays it

in the hands of the wondering children. And then they know what it means to catch the inspiration of a noble thought, to carry on and on and on to the end of the rainbow."

The Organization of Domestic Relations Courts

The Honorable Charles W. Hoffman

Judge of the Court of Domestic Relations, Cincinnati, Ohio

Public sentiment seems to be in advance of the social workers and of those who are the proponents of domestic relations courts. There appears to be an insistent demand on the part of the public for a modified legal procedure in so far as it relates to the consideration of matters pertaining to children and the family. This demand implies that in the organization of domestic relations courts the principle of probation be extended.

It has been said by some that domestic and marital affairs are not related to the principle of probation at all. This may be true in some respects but we recall that there would have been no juvenile courts had it not been that probation existed previous to the organization of these courts. In other words, its principle was utilized. It is a matter of common observation that there would have been no domestic relations courts, nor any suggestion that the procedure in dealing with family matters be changed had it not been for the organization of the juvenile courts. Very early in the history of the juvenile court we found it necessary to consider the setting of the child in the family. Therefore, the courts of domestic relations were organized in order that the family situation in its entirety might be considered.

The Search for Causes

Along with the legal functions of courts of domestic relations, their purpose is that of ascertaining the causes of family disruption and the dissensions of men and women in the marriage state. In my judgment these courts will

finally reveal that family dissension, strife or disorganization have their origin in most cases in the childhood of the parties involved.

In the case of a boy who stole an automobile and who now, for want of a home, is temporarily staying in our juvenile home, we find the cause of the family break-up to have been infidelity on the part of his mother; a cause clearly identified with the delinquency of the boy. If we trace this case further we shall undoubtedly find that the mother's trouble originated in early childhood.

We need to study the child. It is of first importance. In tracing causes of delinquency and crime, it is important to study the family life and trace the causes of peculiar conduct back to the sources. In doing this we may learn something of the causes of delinquency, crime and of family disruption. Judge Herbert G. Cochran of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court of Norfolk, Va., stated that there were 14,000 felonies committed in the state of Missouri in one year. Would it not be enlightening to know the character of the families of those who committed these felonies? How many of the offenders came from broken homes? What caused the broken homes? It is only in a real domestic relations court, in which divorce cases and cases of failure to provide are tried that an insight into such things as these can be obtained.

Is Marriage Successful?

There is less known concerning the causes of family disruption, dissension and strife than of any other social problem. There exists today a misconception, more or less general, in respect to the family life of this country. It is stated sometimes without reservation that the American home is disintegrating. This statement, like many others of like nature, rests on opinion without a basis in facts. The American home, I believe, is as sound as it has been at any period in its history. Marriage is almost universally

successful. Men and women under the biological urge marry without any consideration of birth control, or property rights or easy divorce. They rear children; they live more or less happily and perpetuate the monogamous institution. Divorce is exceptional. It is only in cases in which there are unusual or peculiar incidents that marriage or the home fails. It is for us to ascertain these unusual and peculiar incidents in order that we may be enabled to rehabilitate, if possible, the exceptional family and meet the situation in a sane way. Otherwise we must accept prevailing conditions.

Because there are 200,000 divorces more or less in the United States every year is no indication that the American home is disintegrating in any way whatever. These divorces mean that we are confronted with a social problem which has always been present. This social problem implies a search for the origin of the dissension and strife in a small percentage of the families of the country that we may do something to cure the evil, if it is possible to cure it. For this purpose only do we organize courts of domestic relations.

The Functions of the Domestic Relations Court

Just how these courts will function I am unable to say. As I have repeatedly stated, it requires a search for causes of which we know but little. In a great many jurisdictions we know that cases may be tried in one court on a complaint "for alimony"; in another court the same case may be heard on a "failure to provide" and "desertion charge." Sometimes the same family will be in eight or ten courts. The courts of domestic relations purpose to correlate this work, placing it under a single jurisdiction and a single judge. We have a court of domestic relations in the city of Cincinnati. It is organized under a simple provision of the law which provides that the judge on the ballot shall be designated as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas,

Division of Domestic Relations, and the judge so elected on such a ballot shall be assigned all cases of alimony and divorce and all matters arising under the juvenile court which include cases of children and cases of failure to provide as well as cases of adults contributing to the dependency or delinquency of children.

Therefore, you observe that there is nothing unusual in the act; no change is made in the legal procedure in any way. Whatever the nature of the procedure may be in the courts of domestic relations of the future, I am led to believe that we are not accomplishing all that we might accomplish under the form of the laws and the procedure that at present prevails. While we may not have accepted the means for improving the handling of cases of domestic relations under the existing law, this does not imply by any means that the law and the current legal procedure provides for unobstructed application in concrete cases of the accepted principles of social science and the allied sciences of psychology, neurology, and psychiatry.

It is possible that our failures in many cases involving the family are due to the knowledge and information which ought to be in the possession of the court and are lacking. As an instance, we find at the present time in many jurisdictions strong movements for the so-called tightening up of the law in cases of non-support and desertion. I desire particularly to stress this point because, whatever form the organization of the family courts may take, they will certainly have jurisdiction in these cases. The reform movement works in the direction of making the laws more stringent and of sentencing those declared guilty of this offense to jail.

Defining the Objective

I would suggest in the first place that in these cases we determine our objective. What do we hope to accomplish? What is the object of non-support laws? Are they enacted

for the purpose of getting even with a man whose offense shocks our moral sense, or are they passed for the sole purpose of obtaining support for the family? If the purpose is that of obtaining support for the family the present laws in operation do not in numberless cases attain their objective and we do not get the support which the family is entitled to have.

There is always some peculiar incident involved in family trouble. It is for us to determine what this incident may be, previous to passing judgment on the husband or wife. There is generally something very extraordinary in the life of a man who fails to support his children. There are no cases in any court in which the methods of probation are so essentially necessary as in these cases.

It is unnecessary with good family case work assisted by a court to send any but a negligible number of fathers to the jail or penitentiary for the offense of non-support. No one has given much attention to divorce cases as they appear in court, therefore no one knows a great deal about the things which cause a husband and wife to separate. Sending a man to jail does not solve the problem; the jail is the first, not the final process with some courts. In the meantime the children suffer. We are, at times very superficial in dealing with such family problems as non-support.

We began our work in Cincinnati in 1915. During the first year there were in the aggregate 3197 days in jail for those who were convicted of failure to provide. We obtained fifty cents a day for each man while he was imprisoned. We began then to operate on the lines of social work and probation rather than those of strictly legal procedure, with the result that last year we had no men in jail for a sufficient length of time to collect any amount. Our collections, however, have increased tremendously. We might conclude therefore that if courts of domestic relations did nothing more on the administrative side than that of efficiently handling family cases in which the trouble has become so great

as to cause the husband to cease providing for his children, there is sufficient justification for their organization.

I have tried more than 14,500 divorce cases, yet I should not presume to state definitely the causes of divorce. I can, however, declare that the pleadings filed in a divorce case and the evidence adduced in support thereof, disclose nothing more than the symptomatic cause of the trouble. Beyond this no reliance can generally be placed on the evidence. Divorces are obtained by fraud and perjury of greater or less degree. The case is exceptional in which there is no false testimony. The real causes of divorce and family differences are seldom revealed to the social workers, much less will the parties testify to real causes in an open court. There are some things they will conceal. They will not testify to the intolerable conditions to which they have been subjected.

Evaluation of Domestic Relations Courts

The Court of Domestic Relations in Cincinnati has been in operation for fourteen years, yet I am not able at this time to give you any particular evaluation of its work. Our observations, as well as experience, however, convince us that some system of handling family matters other than that which the current legal procedure provides is absolutely necessary. There has not been to date any real investigation of the causes of divorce and the incident of family disorganization. It will be necessary to materially change our conception of the social and legal situation before anything of note is accomplished. The court of domestic relations of the future must be empowered to use any or all instrumentalities, social and legal, in determining the nature of the human material with which it deals. In the meantime it is possible to make a nearer approach to the administration of justice in family cases by a well organized system of records.

At the time a divorce case is filed in Cincinnati the name of the family is sent to the Central Social Service Exchange. Therefore at the time of the hearing, if any of the courts of the county or any of the eighty-three social agencies coming under the Community Chest have had any contact with the family within eight or ten years past the information at their command is in possession of the court.

The work of no court can be effective and productive of results beneficial to the parties and to society if it is not based on facts. If the parties will not testify to real facts then justice fails and the law is discredited. Chief Justice Taft is frequently quoted as saying, "the criminal courts are a disgrace to civilization." While this may be true it is our judgment that the criminal courts taken as a whole are not nearly so great a disgrace to civilization as the divorce courts. Justice in a divorce court comes by accident.

The unit of the case record is the family, not the individual. All matters concerning the family are included therein. We find in about 30 per cent or more of the cases tried in the divorce court that there is a record of juvenile delinquency or dependency. It appears to me that the building up of this record system is the one valuable contribution to social work made by the court.

Report of the Committee on Domestic Relations Courts

Mary E. McChristie

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Self analysis may be satisfactory and it may be disconcerting. It depends a little upon one's ego and one's state of mind. It is rather interesting to note the recommendations adopted while Judge Charles Hoffman was chairman of the Committee on Domestic Relations Courts ten years ago, and then to review later accomplishments. The first recommendation was:

"That an active educational campaign be conducted by the members of the Association for the establishment of these courts throughout the country—this to be accomplished through newspapers and other publications, and by the aid of clubs and societies interested in social work. We believe that the necessity for these courts and their purpose should be presented to the public. Local sentiment must be created before any progress can be made."

Another recommendation stated: "That while local conditions may demand some changes in the plans for the family court (as provided in the resolution contained in the report of 1917) yet we feel that the leading principles contained in the resolution should be followed and insisted upon by social workers who appreciate the fact that the family court is the foremost and logical agency for the consideration of problems involving a family."

A third resolution made this suggestion: "That the court have a fixed, definite and certain policy governing all its proceedings and work, and that the judges of these courts

be appointed or elected for a term sufficient in length to afford the opportunity to develop the social service program necessary in carrying out the work for which the court is designed. The rotation of judges, such as prevails in some of our larger cities, should be discouraged in so far as it applies to family courts, as it has been abundantly shown in juvenile and domestic relations courts that the principle has been productive of chaos and constant conflict in the procedure incident to these courts."

It was further recommended "that judges of these courts be selected because of their special knowledge and information concerning social service work as well as their attainments in knowledge of the law," and that an immediate effort be made in all jurisdictions to obtain probation forces in the divorce courts for the purpose of investigating, either before or after the hearing, the alleged grounds for divorce, and the home conditions and environment of the children involved."

It is rather interesting to reread the resolutions of ten years ago, and to ask ourselves how satisfied we are with the present development of family courts. Do we feel that ten years has registered great accomplishment? We know many more courts have been organized, and that publicity has had some effect. This latter fact is manifested in the intense and increasing interest of lay people, judges and social workers in the idea.

At the meeting of our committee in New York recently, at which Miss Lenroot presided, many things were discussed. One of the subjects was the Conciliation Department. All agreed that unless this department is manned by trained workers it is useless and inefficient. There are no cases of family maladjustment which can be effectively handled by mental back-patters.

In our own court over three hundred conciliation cases were reported in one year. There were many consultations and some visits made on these cases. Out of them three

hundred men and women who used the conciliation department some thirty later applied for divorce. These results do not however prove the effectiveness of this department, for there may have been many reasons why the man or woman did not return. Time is often a curative force and people frequently make their own personal adjustments. I presume we all realize that a conciliation department must do some good because it serves as an outlet for the man or woman who must discuss personal affairs with an outsider. When we consider the number of children involved we realize that a well equipped, scientific conciliation department would mean in every court in the country.

The conciliation departments over the country which most of us know, are usually administered by men or women with no particular educational background and with little understanding of human relationship. Often they are ward captains or women who "just love social work." With such misfits attempting to fill strategic, potentially constructive positions no wonder we fail.

At the meeting of the Committee on Domestic Relations Courts in New York in April, 1928, Charles Zunzer, Secretary of the National Desertion Bureau, and a member of our committee, suggested the establishment of a nationwide non-sectarian desertion bureau to act as a central agency for all family desertion and allied cases, this agency to gather statistics and social data on all cases of family desertion, and to assist in locating and apprehending family deserters, and to affect the adjustment of these cases whenever possible. We agreed tentatively to approve in principle the establishment of such a bureau, but no further action was taken by the committee.

There is so much confusion about the family or domestic relations court that once before I made the statement that if this were an infant with a social history we might say that it was born prematurely, causing great confusion, naturally. Nobody seemed quite ready for the event, not

even the originators of the idea quite realized the potentialities of such a court. Each year we are appreciating anew the possibilities of this agency. The legalists and the attorneys working with the family courts are being converted to this new idea which is encouraging to both judges and social workers.

I recall, with a great deal of pleasure, the long list of petitioners (attorneys) who filled the larger part of a page of one of our evening papers in 1917 when Judge Charles Hoffman was up for re-election. Of course, the fact that this list carried the names of three or four dead attorneys made it more effective. They had evidently come back to register their antagonism to the family court idea. But ten years later these attorneys (those still alive) were cooperative and expressed opposition neither to Judge Hoffman, nor the idea he represented. They appear in the court and discuss their cases; they have ceased to call for smelling salts when outside evidence is brought in, as we always use our juvenile court records in addition to the verbal evidence given at the time of the hearing. Last year 30 per cent or more of the cases appearing in the divorce division had previously been registered in the juvenile division. The attorneys have kept pace with us in social procedure. This is gratifying to social workers everywhere.

The Committee on Domestic Relations Courts wishes those interested to feel that it has been functioning under the National Probation Association in an advisory capacity, anticipating the inquiries that may come from a number of social workers. John S. Bradway, Secretary of the National Legal Aid Associations, has compiled a very interesting questionnaire, which many of you may find useful if you are considering amplifications of the juvenile court or organization of a new family court. These questionnaires are available at the office of the National Probation Association.

As Miss Lenroot, Mr. Flexner, and Mr. Oppenheimer

state in their report, "we must proceed very carefully." Often it might be advantageous to enlarge the juvenile court jurisdiction rather than organize a new family court. We must discourage spasmodic attempts, often made by club women, who apparently get together and remark: "Oh, I wish we had something particularly interesting to do! Let's organize a family court." The absence of sentimentality, and careful consultations with legalists, judges, and the Children's Bureau should be encouraged. When we consider the voluminous and exhaustive report made by the Federal Children's Bureau we realize the months of study and labor that have been consumed in the making of this analysis. I know that the members of the committee, and all judges and social workers, will find this a source of valuable information.

The Committee on Domestic Relations Courts makes the following recommendations to all interested members:

First: That we encourage the establishment of a socialized family court with criminal, civil, and equity jurisdiction, augmented by a bureau of investigation for gathering facts along social and psychiatric lines, this accomplishment presupposing clinical facilities, a bureau of conciliation and a trained probation staff.

Second: That the ideal court must be modified to meet local conditions and legal limitations of that particular vicinity; and that the ultimate goal is the unified family court with socialized procedure, having jurisdiction over all childrens' cases, offenses against children, non-support, divorce and alimony. The ideal is one court with two divisions, juvenile and adult. There are a few who feel that divorce has no part in the family court, which again confuses the ideal; but all members are convinced that the family court, no matter what the name or the jurisdiction or the administrative powers, must mean socialized procedure in all family matters affecting parents and children.

Third: That an active educational campaign be con-

ducted by the members of the Association for the establishment of these courts throughout the country; this to be accomplished through the newspapers and other publications, and by the aid of women's clubs and other societies interested in social work. We believe that the necessity for these family courts and their purpose should be presented to the public, for local sentiment must be created before any progress can be made. Very often the appeal to the imagination of the public is very strong, and we who know, sometimes hesitate because of our realization of the legal difficulties involved.

Fourth: We further recommend that an effort be made in all cases to select judges because of their special knowledge of social service as well as their attainments in law.

Fifth: That every effort be made to obtain an adequate number of probation workers in the family courts who are trained, experienced, and personally competent. Such officers would investigate the alleged grounds for divorce, the home conditions and environment of the children of the parties involved in divorce action, and later supervise the homes where there are children after a divorce is granted.

Sixth: That the court may have a fixed definite policy governing its proceedings and work, we recommend that the judges be appointed or elected for a term of sufficient length to afford them opportunity to develop the social service program for which the court was designed. The rotation of judges such as prevails in some of our larger cities, would be discouraged, so far as it applies to family courts, for it has been abundantly shown in juvenile and domestic relations courts that this principle has been productive only of chaos and constant conflict in work incident to these courts.

Seventh: Our committee further recommends that during the coming year studies of several types of domestic relations courts be made in order to present to the Association next year concrete data on better methods of procedure and the development of more definite standards.

Eighth: We endorse the Children's Bureau report most enthusiastically, and pledge the continued cooperation of our committee with the Children's Bureau, using its illuminating report to the fullest possible extent.

DISCUSSION

PROF. PHILIP A. PARSONS (Director, School of Social Work, University of Oregon, Portland, Ore.) This matter of getting reports seems to me to be an extremely important matter. I am afraid that the spontaneous development of interest in the court cannot be depended upon.

I wonder if we couldn't support financially the National Probation Association sufficiently to enable communities to call in a group of experts whenever a community gets the feeling that it wants a court, so that it will be able to make a thorough study of the situation, shape public opinion and secure the sort of people who will start such a court in the right way. We are still suffering in many western communities from courts established in the wrong way.

The local situation ought to be such that if there is to be a referee or judge of one type or another the law would be adjusted so that the right person may be secured. The judge may have the right leanings but not know what it is all about. He should therefore have a chief probation officer who does.

HERBERT C. PARSONS (Deputy Commissioner, Massachusetts Commission on Probation, Court House, Boston, Mass.): In the present craze for efficiency, there is some reluctance to interfere with the splendid efficiency or solidarity of the divorce court. I do not know where the high record for efficiency in handling divorces is. I am told Massachusetts has a record of one divorce in every three and one-half minutes, but I understand this record is entirely outdone by other states. It looks really like court efficiency. If you can get court efficiency in any form you want to uphold it. This is the legislative view.

It is a matter of great pride to the National Probation Association that it has been actively allied with such an efficient bureau as the Children's Bureau in the promotion of the study on domestic relations courts.

Anywhere in this country, I think, you will find the standards set up by the committee composed of these two powerful organizations in regard to juvenile court procedure, not only regarded with great respect and interest on the bench and in public discussion, but you will find, I am very sure, the gradual, steady, noticeable adoption of these standards and their profound effect upon the processes of the courts themselves and upon legislation.

Miss Lenroot stated: "Wherever jurisdiction over domestic relations cases can be centered in one court by some working agreement on the part of several judges, such action appears to be more desirable than appeal to a legislative body, provided that an adequate social service staff can be maintained." The plan lacks the dramatic quality of the establishment of a new court, but it has the advantage of ease and my comment is—we do not have to wait. She made reference to a court's flexibility,—Springfield, Massachusetts, a district court. On the glass of the door in the Springfield

District Court, as in other courts in Massachusetts now, is the sign "Domestic Relations." There isn't the slightest authority for this in statute. The legislature hasn't yet discovered, as I have said, domestic relations. But a socially minded judge has. Here is a judge socially minded enough to set up a district court and use the resources, and the instrumentalities he had, in an effort to carry out the plan similar to the one we have ideally set up today.

CHARLES L. CHUTE (General Secretary, National Probation Association, New York, N. Y.): At the meeting of the Committee on Domestic Relations at the National Probation Association's headquarters in New York in April, there were discussed ways in which the National Probation Association office could cooperate with the committee. We feel that the report of the Children's Bureau gives us the facts. The Children's Bureau is not in a position to do propaganda work throughout the country. Its studies and recommendations must naturally be somewhat conservative. To the National Probation Association therefore comes the opportunity of developing a program to advance domestic relations courts. At this stage we do not know exactly what this program will be. There may be several types of domestic relations courts needed to fit the various communities. We feel that we must have more information and more facts. It has, therefore, been suggested by the Committee on Domestic Relations Courts that during the coming year, studies be made and additional facts obtained in order that the study of the Children's Bureau may be utilized. We hope at our annual conference in 1929 to be able to present some definite facts and develop some definite standards.

BERNARD T. J. SMYTH (Chief Probation Officer, District Court, Springfield, Mass.): In Springfield, Massachusetts, we employ the services of a woman physician and a psychiatrist in our domestic relations cases; a psychologist and a psychiatrist from one of the state hospitals for the insane, in our juvenile cases. Every case is thoroughly investigated. A complete history of each is obtained. Most probation cases run for a period of two years. Some cases remain on probation for six years. Thus the family from the cradle to the grave comes under the influence of the juvenile probation officer, the probation officer for women, or the officer who handles adult cases.

In Massachusetts although the value of probation service is known, there are few who appreciate the tremendous case load with which probation officers are burdened. The proper way to solve the difficulty in the domestic relations courts in such states as Massachusetts, I feel, would be to adopt the committee's suggestion, that this organization go on record first—as favoring the adoption of domestic relations courts in all states, second—as advising the bar associations of the different states as to the purpose, scope and object of this organization, and third—that they go before the state legislatures to urge the extension and proper equipment of domestic relations courts.

ERNEST L. HARGRAVE (Deputy Solicitor of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts of Jefferson County, Ala.): I should like to call to the attention of the meeting the essential unity of juvenile and domestic relations problems. In Alabama, a recent act of the legislature created in

the court the office of referee to hear cases informally. The decisions of this referee, when approved, become the judgment of the court. We find the cooperation of attorneys very helpful in settling cases informally. Our lawyers have great confidence in the fairness of the court. I should like to suggest also that instead of focussing our attention so constantly on the failures of the broken home, we study more carefully successful family life.

Training for Families

Bernard J. Fagan

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One of the most deplorable scenes in a juvenile court is the long procession of men and women with shattered ideals who, regardless of the consequences or the future welfare of their children, appear to be at the parting of the ways. These couples are firmly convinced that their happiness is wrecked and are ready to accept the cynic's statement, "marriage is a failure." The home so firmly built by them at the beginning on the foundation stones of "love, honor and obey" has become a house of cards and crumbled at their feet.

"Training for families," which is the title of this paper, should begin with the grandparents on the day the matrimonial knot is tied. Marriage as a sacramental civilized institution is not a failure. Materially speaking, it is a great deal like life itself. It is just what we make it—and nothing more. Many volumes have been written on the history of marriage. There seems to be a general conviction among certain writers in the public press and current literature that marriage is in an awful mess and needs to be radically changed in both technique and terminology. These ideas are based on popular delusions. There are many matrimonial disorders. No one with eyes to see and ears to hear can in fairness deny the fact that parental ties are not what they used to be. Marital maladjustments are, nevertheless in most cases, preventable.

Cataloguing Marital Maladjustments

Cataloguing the factors of marital maladjustments is not a simple matter. In one case the cause may be chiefly

temperament; in another it may be dyspepsia; in a third, the cause may be indeed justified; in still another home it may be incompatibility, which as you are aware, indicates mutual inconsistency on the part of both members of the same household. Incompatibility leads the list of causes of marital maladjustments and yet, in my opinion, it is not a sufficient reason for wrecking the home.

Many forces are at work to break up the home. Sometimes it is unreasonableness, hastiness in temper or the possession of a pugnacious nature that invites rather than dispels trouble. Again, temperamental traits may be the cause. We have also to take into consideration the militant mothers-in-law, the relatives of the husband and the relatives of the wife, nationality differences, religious differences, no religion, abusive and brutal husbands, and nagging wives. A person entering marriage should realize that it is a game of "give and take," and a spirit of tolerance should at all times prevail. Neither husbands nor wives can expect to win every household argument. In the interest of peace and harmony, and for the sake of the children, a fair batting average of verbal victories is all that one may expect. Abuse has never been known to correct a fault, and constant nagging has driven more men to drink and to distant lands than any other known cause.

Courtship was no doubt primarily intended as a time for stock taking; it gives opportunity for forming opinions and making observations. Once the ring is placed upon the finger, the deed is done and the bewailing and depreciating of each other, which is so common in wrecked households, is of no value whatsoever. Let me insert here that it is a mistake for young wives and husbands to call upon brothers, sisters, or mothers-in-law, to settle family disagreements. Running home to mother or to relatives and friends with tales is apt to create a deep seated antagonism which makes it almost impossible to effect a reconciliation. The man or woman, as the case may be, can easily be reasoned with. Sometimes

both are willing—for the sake of the children—to forget the past and to look forward to a brighter and happier future.

Economic Issues Play Their Part

Economic issues play a part in this tragic tale. We find that unemployment, insufficient incomes, joined with domestic incompetency or extravagance, are causes of disruption in family life. Someone has said that the way to reach a man is through his stomach. Assuming that the husband is regularly employed, and that he hands over to his wife a sufficient amount of money, what could be more aggravating than to find the wife incapable of cooking or running the household. Home cooking is fast becoming a lost art. A glance over some of our probation cases and a review of the causative factors of these cases lead me to believe that while the cooking of the woman in the home has been treated somewhat humorously, back of the jest lies a powerful argument for instruction in cookery and household management. I have been told that in certain neighborhoods about five o'clock every evening, one may see at least half a dozen empty baby carriages parked outside a motion picture house. An inspection of several other neighborhoods showed similar conditions. These picture houses at five o'clock in the evening contained wives who, at the end of the program, gathered up their children, dashed to the nearest delicatessen stores and then hurried home with canned suppers.

A great many women are justified in grievances against their husbands. It will contribute little to the peace of the household if the husband insists on an exact accounting of every penny. There is also the form of male nuisance known as a "kitchen systematizer"—a sort of a homemade efficiency expert. Few husbands have ever been awarded medals of distinction for attempting to inquire into or regulate the technique of the kitchen.

Sex Relationships

Other very fundamental factors causing marital shipwrecks are those involving diseased, immoral or perverted sexual relationships. These loathesome practices have brought much misery and suffering into the lives of innocent children. Forced marriages and the green-eyed monster of jealousy enter into the account also. The excessive use of alcohol and drugs, mental incapacity and physical infirmities, all contribute to the list of causes promoting family discord. In the classification of marital shipwrecks, no one cause may be truthfully singled out as in the lead. The particular reason for presenting several is to show the need of training for family life and to aid in the protection, education and salvage of childhood.

The Rights of the Child

The sacredness of child life is no longer a mere principle. Sentiment has succeeded in securing for the child rights equal to those of the adult. I sometimes fear that the pendulum of juvenile individuality has been allowed to swing too far. Training for parents, must of course, include training for children. In no field of human activity has there been more lamentable neglect than in the care, education and protection of children. Preparation for citizenship should begin in the pre-school age. It is at this period that parents have the best opportunities to plant the seeds which will make useful citizens of their children. Parents should make the home the children's first school and should consider themselves the first teachers.

Many parents seem to feel that their obligation is entirely fulfilled when they have provided for the child's material and physical welfare. Children are entrusted by the Almighty Creator to the guardianship of a father and mother. Opportunity should be given every child to learn religious truths and to worship God. Children should be taught to love their country so that when they are called

upon for service they will answer willingly. They should have explained to them the reason for the necessity of their allegiance to the laws of the land in order that they may not act blindly. The choice between good and evil, as they will find out in later life, is within the power of their own free will. Their choice, however, is deeply influenced by environment, home and parental training.

During the past few years there has been observed a growing lack of respect on the part of the youth of our country toward all forms of parental restraint, and a lack of deference and personal obligation toward society at large. This condition is noticeably apparent in the type of boy and girl found in the juvenile court. Some might term the tendency a state of lawlessness. In teaching obedience, a parent should always safeguard the child's personality. Friction often occurs when parents fail to discriminate between the legitimate rights of the child and his arbitrary whims. A child has a right to be hungry and tired. He probably has a right to react when in this condition just as his father or mother would react if they were in his place. An understanding of what the child has a right to expect will make us ready to concede a great deal without danger of spoiling him and without too much strain upon our established habits of resisting the claims of the child. Moreover, a better understanding of what parents have a right to expect from their children will enable them to make the guidance more effective. Discipline and habit formation in children should be approached by parents in a calm and dispassionate manner. Anger or disappointment should never be attached to disciplinary measures nor should there be a hasty and ill-considered punishment. For instance, there is no reason why we are impelled to punish children for the breakage or loss of an article if caused by accident. There is no set formula for insuring the right response on the part of children. Each problem should be dealt with according to modern methods in child training. Many of the old fash-

ioned measures have proved to be faulty instruments and dangerous when used with the children of this generation. Parents should learn what can be reasonably expected of children at different ages.

Parenthood

Parenthood, if it is to be successful, must be something more than supplying the material wants of children. Rare indeed is the family which at some time or other is not called upon to meet problems more serious than those of feeding or clothing their sons and daughters. No longer can it be said that the knowledge concerning training and safeguarding of children is lacking. Churches and schools are ready to advise and assist in child guidance. It is astonishing how few parents make use of the many child training agencies. The Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, the Big Brothers, Big Sisters and settlement houses have trained leaders whose time and advice are always available. The list of agencies would not be complete if I omitted the juvenile court probation officers. These officers represent a group of highly trained specialists, conversant with the influences which tend to create or destroy character in childhood. In every community, today, there is a court for the treatment of behavior problems of children. No stigma is attached to the child when a probation officer of the juvenile court aids in his care. The juvenile court is as much of an educational agency as the school. It is not unlike a clinic for the treatment of mental and behavior problems in children.

Bringing up the children is not a mother's job alone. No parent should play this game single-handed. Many fathers seem to think that after providing a home and turning over a portion of their weekly pay envelope, they have done their full duty toward the household and should not be bothered with the children's troubles. This attitude is a tragic mistake. Fathers who feel this way are to blame when the crash comes. On the other hand, mothers must

play fair with the fathers. The universal practice when children misbehave is to conceal from the father all information regarding the matter. This form of household conspiracy, however well intentioned, is detrimental to the welfare of the children and sooner or later invariably leads to family demoralization. The thing for parents to do is to acknowledge that times have changed and that if we are to be intelligent and just in the treatment of our children and are really sincere in desiring to cement more firmly harmonious family relationships, we shall have to do some fresh thinking on the subject of training for families and some remodeling of ways and means of bringing this study to a practical working conclusion.

Report on Progress of the Children's Bureau Plan for Uniform Juvenile Court Statistics

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Description of Plan

At the twentieth Annual Conference of the National Probation Association held in Cleveland, May, 1926, the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor presented a plan for obtaining uniform juvenile court statistics. The purpose of this plan was to secure uniform statistics of delinquency, dependency, and neglect through the cooperation of state departments and individual courts with the Children's Bureau. It was developed as the result of the active interest, extending over a period of years, of a number of people dealing with juvenile court statistics, especially the members of the National Probation Association's Committee on Records and Statistics. Differences in methods of preparing monthly and annual reports of juvenile courts and lack of uniformity both as to interpretation of terms and facts presented made impossible combined statistics for the country as a whole, or comparative statements for states or even courts within the same state. The Juvenile Court Standards, drafted by a committee appointed by the Children's Bureau in 1921 and adopted by a conference held under the auspices of the Children's Bureau and the National Probation Association in 1923, recognized the inadequacy of existing statistics and pointed out the necessity for uniformity in terminology and agreement as to methods of statistical tabulation and facts to be pre-

sented. The preparation of a plan to bring about such uniformity was undertaken by the Children's Bureau, active cooperation being given by the Committee on Records and Statistics of the National Probation Association.

The basis of the plan is a statistical card to be filled out for each case of delinquency, dependency, or neglect disposed of during a calendar year and for each case of a delinquent, dependent, or neglected child discharged from probation or supervision during the year. There are three cards, yellow for delinquency, blue for dependency or neglect, and white for probation or supervision. The delinquency and dependency or neglect cards differ only in the lists of charges and dispositions. These cards, which are five by eight inches in size, have been so arranged that little clerical work is involved, most of the information being entered by checking. Cards and a bulletin of instructions are furnished without charge to cooperating courts, also franks or addressed envelopes requiring no postage for use in mailing cards back to the bureau. Cards are returned to the bureau for tabulation at least once a year, but courts are urged to return them oftener if convenient to do so, for instance, monthly or quarterly, since this makes it possible to prepare tables more promptly by distributing the work of examining and preparing cards for tabulation throughout the current year, instead of confining it to the close of the year and beginning of the following year.

From the cards returned by courts the Bureau prepares a set of 22 tables on printed forms which are sent to the courts for use in annual reports, if desired. The facts presented in these tables are those usually covered in court reports, such as charges, methods of care pending hearing, manner of dealing with cases (whether through official court action, or unofficial adjustment) and dispositions, for example, probation or commitment to institutions or agencies. The number of different children dealt with is also shown, the number of repeaters, and certain social facts, such as

sex, race, age, parental condition, and whereabouts of children when referred to court. For cases discharged from probation or supervision, the length of the probation period and the reason for discharge are shown.

Following the presentation of this plan at the meeting in Cleveland in 1926, cooperation was sought by means of letters to state departments having some relation to juvenile court work, to courts in the larger cities and to persons known to be interested in juvenile court statistics and by field trips of a representative of the Bureau to state departments and courts in both large and small cities in the middle west and in some of the southern and eastern states.

Cooperating Courts

A few courts started to use the cards on July 1, 1926. Two courts, The Children's Court of Westchester County, New York, and the Juvenile Court of Hennepin County, Minnesota, began their use on January 1 of that year. Many more courts began to use the cards on January 1, 1927. Courts continued to adopt the plan during 1927. Some began on July 1, 1927, and others at the beginning of their fiscal years. The Bureau prepares tables on the basis of fiscal years other than the calendar, though using the latter for its own combined tabulations. Several courts have signified their intention to cooperate beginning as of January 1, 1928. The total number of courts promising cooperation was 139 although a slightly larger number were supplied with cards either through cooperating state agencies or at the request of such agencies. Twenty-one of these courts were not heard from later or have not been heard from for a long time and are, therefore, assumed not to be using the cards, seven reported that they were unable to use the cards, and only seven stopped using them after they had actually started. Of the last two groups a few are looking forward to cooperating at some time in the future. The remaining 104 courts which are listed below

are considered as participating in the plan at the present time; 74 of them are definitely known to be using the cards (or, in two or three instances, preparing tables in accordance with the plan), and the other 30, from which cards have not yet been received, are believed to be cooperating, because of a recent promise either to send in cards for 1927 or to cooperate in 1928. It is probable that a few additional courts, known to be using cards at an earlier date but which have not responded to recent inquiries, should be included, and that some courts are listed which have since found it impossible to use the cards. The Bureau will be glad to receive information regarding courts omitted or incorrectly included.

Courts Cooperating in Plan, April, 1928

California

Juvenile Court of Alameda County

Juvenile Court of Los Angeles County*

(Juvenile Court of San Francisco County furnished cards for 1927 but was unable to continue cooperation in 1928)

Connecticut

Juvenile Court of Bridgeport

Juvenile Court of Hartford

District of Columbia

Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia

Indiana

Juvenile Court of Adams County

Juvenile Court of Boone County

Juvenile Court of Carroll County

Juvenile Court of Clark County

Juvenile Court of Clay County

Juvenile Court of Clinton County

Juvenile Court of De Kalb County

Juvenile Court of Delaware County

Juvenile Court of Floyd County

Juvenile Court of Franklin County

Juvenile Court of Greene County

Juvenile Court of Jackson County

Juvenile Court of Jennings County
Juvenile Court of Johnson County
Juvenile Court of Lake County
Juvenile Court of Lawrence County
Juvenile Court of Marion County
Juvenile Court of Monroe County
Juvenile Court of Montgomery County
Juvenile Court of Orange County
Juvenile Court of Parke County
Juvenile Court of Pike County
Juvenile Court of Randolph County
Juvenile Court of Rush County
Juvenile Court of Scott County
Juvenile Court of St. Joseph County
Juvenile Court of Vermilion County
Juvenile Court of Washington County
Juvenile Court of Wayne County
Juvenile Court of Wells County
Juvenile Court of White County

Iowa

Polk County Juvenile Court

Louisiana

Juvenile Court of Caddo Parish

Massachusetts

Middlesex County Superior Criminal Court

Michigan

Juvenile Court, Kent County

Minnesota

Juvenile Court of Hennepin County

Juvenile Court of Ramsey County

St. Louis County Juvenile Court

New Jersey

Hudson County Juvenile Court

Mercer County Juvenile Court

New York

Albany County Children's Court

Buffalo Children's Court

Chemung County Children's Court
Clinton County Children's Court
Columbia County Children's Court
Delaware County Children's Court
Dutchess County Children's Court
Erie County Children's Court
Franklin County Children's Court
Genesee County Children's Court
Jefferson County Children's Court
Monroe County Children's Court
New York City Children's Court
Ontario County Children's Court
Orange County Children's Court
Orleans County Children's Court
Oswego County Children's Court
Rensselaer County Children's Court
Rockland County Children's Court
Saratoga County Children's Court
Sullivan County Children's Court
Tioga County Children's Court
Washington County Children's Court
Westchester County Children's Court

North Carolina

Juvenile Court of Buncombe County
Juvenile Court of Guilford County
Winston-Salem Juvenile Court

North Dakota

District Court, Third Judicial District
District Court, Sixth Judicial District

Ohio

Auglaize County Juvenile Court
Juvenile Court of Clark County
Franklin County Juvenile Court
Common Pleas Court of Hamilton County
 Juvenile and Domestic Relations Division
Lake County Juvenile Court
Common Pleas Court of Mahoning County
 Division of Domestic Relations
Common Pleas Court of Montgomery County
 Domestic Relations Division

Juvenile Court of Sandusky County
Juvenile Court of Wayne County

Pennsylvania

Juvenile Court of Allegheny County
Juvenile Court of Berks County
Juvenile Court of Lycoming County
Juvenile Court of Montgomery County
Municipal Court of Philadelphia, Juvenile Division*

South Carolina

Greenville County Juvenile Court

Tennessee

(The Juvenile Court of Memphis furnished cards for 1927
but was unable to continue cooperation in 1928.)

Utah

Juvenile Court Commission
First District
Second District
Third District
Fourth District
Fifth District
Carbon County
Other Counties

Virginia

Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court of—
Hopewell
Lynchburg
Norfolk
Roanoke County
Wise County

Washington

Pierce County Juvenile Court

Wisconsin

Dane County Juvenile Court
Milwaukee County Juvenile Court

* These courts are not using cards but are preparing tables according to the forms used by the Bureau in preparing its own tabulations.

Cooperation of State and National Agencies

Wherever possible the Bureau has sought to enlist the aid of state or national agencies having some relation to juvenile court work, and has met with splendid response. During the past year a representative of the Bureau attended the annual meetings of the Illinois Probation Officers' Association, the Indiana Probation Association, the Ohio Welfare Conference, the New York State Conference of Probation Officers, and the New York Association of Judges of Children's Courts, for the purpose of presenting the plan informally and meeting interested judges and probation officers. The assistance of the National Probation Association during the preparation of the plan has already been mentioned. Its workers have continued to help in its promotion by calling the attention of probation officers to the plan and referring to the Bureau those seeking advice in statistical methods. The Committee on Registration of Social Statistics, sponsored by the University of Chicago and the Association of Community Chests and Councils, which receives monthly reports from social agencies of various types in a number of cities arranged the form calling for information on court work for delinquent and dependent or neglected children along the lines of the Bureau plan. One court has already reported that the Bureau cards are being used as a means of collecting the information for this report.

The New York State Probation Commission and the Connecticut Bureau of Child Welfare revised their monthly report forms and the Virginia Department of Public Welfare its annual report form so as to include one or more of the items called for in the Children's Bureau plan, following the same terminology and classifications so that courts using the cards for the Bureau may also use them in making the monthly or annual reports to the state agency. In the case of one Virginia court it was possible to make the

report to the state department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927 from cards sent to the Bureau by the court, which began to use the cards July 1, 1926.

The Juvenile Court Commission of Utah has revised its report system so that all statistics of juvenile court cases will be obtained through the Bureau plan and cards were received for the last six months of 1927 for the entire state, thus making Utah the first state to cooperate on a state-wide basis. The State Probation Office of Indiana and the Probation Bureau of the Ohio Division of Charities hope to achieve similar results. A number of courts in each of these states are using the cards as will be seen from the above list.

Responsibility for introducing the plan to courts within their states was assumed by the Georgia Department of Public Welfare, the Louisiana State Board of Charities and Corrections and the Virginia Department of Public Welfare.

Other state agencies unable to cooperate so actively have furnished lists of probation officers and judges to whom bulletins and sample cards were sent, and in some instances have themselves sent out this material, and distributed it at state meetings or in personal conferences. The total number of state agencies which have given cooperation in one way or another is seventeen.

Tabulation of Information Obtained

At the present time the Bureau is engaged in tabulating the cards received for the year 1927 and will publish a report in mimeographed form within the next few months. At least 40 courts will be included in this report. For use in informal discussion during this conference a preliminary tabulation covering 21 courts has been made. These preliminary findings which cover more than one-half of the cards received, since some of the largest courts are included, are based upon 18,097 delinquency cases and 6,436 dependency and neglect cases.

As cards are received from courts they are examined for omissions and inconsistencies which necessitate referring them back to the courts. In the belief that they would be helpful to courts in checking future cards detailed memoranda have been written commenting on the checking of the cards and asking questions, at the same time pointing out the reasons for the questions and giving further explanation as to the correct manner of checking. In the course of visits to courts, cards have been examined and corrected and verbal instructions given, and as completed tables have been sent out comments have been attached, calling attention to undue numbers of items listed as "not reported" or unusual items due to omissions or faulty checking of cards. As a result of the above procedure it has been encouraging to note the marked improvement in the checking of the cards shown by courts which started to use them in 1926 and for which tables were made covering a part or the whole of 1926.

The chief difficulties experienced have been due to differences in terminology necessitating considerable correspondence or discussion until mutual understanding was established, for example, "case disposed of" and "case closed"; unusual procedures which are not easily indicated in the uniform classification of dispositions, for instance, considering a child on probation while temporarily committed to an institution; and problems of court or probation office organization which make difficult the installation of the plan, especially that of lack of provision for centralization of clerical and statistical work.

Future Plans

Plans for the future include gradual extension of the use of the plan by correspondence, visits to courts, and attendance at conferences; special emphasis upon follow-up by personal visits to courts experiencing difficulty in using the cards; study of certain types of procedure mentioned above

which are not easily shown on the cards; and revision of the bulletin of instructions to include further explanation of items which experience has shown are most often misunderstood, at the same time making some changes in arrangement and size of type to facilitate finding of desired information.

Juvenile Court Problems of the Smaller Cities of Tennessee

Florida Ringgold

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Knoxville, Tennessee*

"O wad some Power the giftie gie us
To see ourself as ithers see us!"

Although this wish was expressed by Robert Burns, I do not agree with it. An inmate of a county home asked my taxi driver, "Who is that woman nohow?"

"Oh, I don't know," said the driver, "Some kind of an inspector, I guess."

"No she ain't nuther," replied the inmate, "I can allus tell um by the looks of um. I'm one myself. She's a Holy Roller Preacher."

A Glimpse of Tennessee

Tennessee contains within its boundaries extremes of highland and lowland. Most of eastern Tennessee is either plateaux or valleys between high ridges. Central middle Tennessee is level land over whose southern section still stretches a virgin forest. In west Tennessee which is adjacent to the Mississippi,—the "Great Father of Waters"—and its tributaries,—are the extreme lowlands, while the weirdly beautiful Reelfoot Lake,—an overnight formation,—covers the northwestern corner. The lay of the land gives rise to a variety of occupations. In the Mississippi bottoms, cotton is raised. In middle Tennessee farming, dairying, tobacco growing and lumbering are the principal industries.

The mountaineers who inhabit the secluded coves of the eastern portion of the state still enjoy fox hunting. They

also gain part of their food by hunting and trapping. In these isolated sections civilization has not been lacking but it has been retarded. As Dean Lewis of Lincoln Memorial University said recently, "Culture and traditions were frozen in the mountains." The people until quite lately lived the lives of pioneers.

Mountain People

One fourth of July afternoon three of us started from Knoxville bound for a mountain cove to give the Binet-Simon test to children of that community. We traveled on a railroad, a wagon road, and over a mountain trail. As darkness descended, the lantern seemed to shed no light on our way. One step amiss and we should have fallen three hundred feet. Our guide, inquiring at a mountain hut for a boy she knew, was told that he was fishing in the river. Far below us by the light of his torch we caught a glimmer of the water.

What wild west adventure of a city movie could equal the thrill of a lad of ten years fishing alone at night by torchlight in a mountain country a mile or more away from human habitations? Is it any wonder that when the mountain boy comes to town he demands substitute excitement?

Next day amongst tall waving corn on a mountain top we found a child of five who accompanied us part way down the mountain side. His hunting instinct was shown in the way he prattled of mountain brooks, trees, flowers, fishes, birds, and of the shy woodland creatures, their nests, eggs and young.

The children of this district, some illegitimate, but all of them children of mountaineers, we found to be quite normal mentally; in fact, they possess a rather high grade of intelligence.

The mountain people are a virile race with sturdy virtues and strong vices. Independent, conservative, individualistic, honest, with deep religious prejudices, they are unused

to concentrating their attention on one thing for any length of time. They are more or less primitive people. In this respect the inhabitants of the forest and of the Reelfoot country are similar, I understand.

Problems That Must Be Solved

What has all this to do with juvenile court problems in the smaller cities of Tennessee? Just this,—it is these people who feed the courts.

The problems of the courts seem to me to be rather fundamental. The first problem is economic. Game and crossties have become scarce. The hillside farms cannot compete with the fertile valley in these days of better transportation and cooperative selling.

Seven unlettered brothers, well over middle age came from the mountains to the town to make their fortunes. Soon they found that there was nothing for them to do except to push carts until they went to their paupers' graves. Their progeny remained to people the slums.

In middle Tennessee the large landowners are becoming objects of the past. The beautiful acres of blue grass and the fields of corn and grain are being subdivided into smaller farms.

The problem in west Tennessee is complicated by the instability of the cotton market which keeps a large negro population inadequately employed for the major portion of the year; the apparent necessity of keeping the children out of school during the period of plentiful work; the inertia of the planter toward carrying the cotton hand and the migrating tenant farmer over the hard places in times of stress, feeling that his own burden is all that he can rightfully manage. The juvenile court is confronted with the problem of providing for these financially inadequate families. There are no children's societies in Tennessee as there are in some states. The mother's aid pension for the widow which is effective in only a few large communities

should be extended to the smaller ones. Child placing,—which is in its infancy,—should be studied, and its scope should be enlarged cautiously. Where the family is unbroken the father, son or daughter should be guided to the proper job and encouraged to keep it. The economic angle of the problem extends farther than the proteges of the court. The state's wealth was wiped out years ago. There are no multimillionaires to call on for aid and no foundations. County treasuries are depleted. Taxable assets are small. The poorer rural counties must either annex themselves to the wealthier counties, or they must import industries by which the citizens can make more money and thereby be able to give financial aid to juvenile courts and other philanthropic endeavors. These industries will produce taxes for the county treasuries by which means juvenile courts and schools can be more adequately supported. Politicians have ever a smoldering desire to do away with the costs of a juvenile court.

The Needs in Tennessee

Separate detention quarters for juvenile delinquents from those occupied by adults are not furnished in the smaller places. Where there are separate quarters some judges do not seem to realize that the tragedy of detention homes is not the bars at the windows but the idle children looking out from behind them. School, manual training, cooking and sewing classes and supervised play are means by which the children may be kept busy.

Medical and psychiatric clinics are not available. There are few recreational facilities. Mountain people are used to lives filled with work and no play. Play is considered by them one of the wiles of Satan. Money comes hard and goes hard. Paying some one to supervise a playground is a sinful waste, they think.

At least two juvenile court judges receive no salary. Although the general law provides that a probation officer

may be employed by each county, at a salary of not less than ten dollars a month only cities of over 125,000 population with one or two possible exceptions have paid officers.

Outside capital has finally discovered vast water power and stores of minerals in our mountains. Marble mills, knitting mills, silk mills, furniture and milk products factories are being established. Tennesseans, however, are unskilled laborers in these new fields of endeavor, and the mills are not proving to be unalloyed blessings. Capitalists are not spending their money as a pastime. They expect to pay the wages for unskilled labor and get skilled labor results. Child labor must be prevented and housing conditions must be watched.

Children Whose Parents Work

A second problem is that of keeping the children in school. The mountaineer feels that his child is his property. He must be tactfully but firmly shown that the state has the right to demand that its children are not employed by parent or manufacturer in such manner as to prevent them taking advantage of the opportunities of a free school system.

With the introduction of the mills into the smaller towns, the mother is leaving home to work for the first time. The family probably came from the mountains with the intention of having every member work in the mills. The children who have not had the same opportunity to attend school as the town children find themselves behind in their grades. They do not understand the reason and become resentful. Their houses are empty before schooltime. The father and mother do not know whether their children are in school or not. They are often not awake to their responsibility in disciplining or caring for the children under the changed conditions in which they now live. After school the boy spends his time on the street. He may sell papers, stay out late at night, shoot craps, fight, take money from other

newsies, sleep behind the paper office, join a gang, and break into a store! The juvenile court is quite likely under these conditions to receive a delinquent boy who may be sent to a reform school.

The Unadjusted Girl

The as yet unsolved problem of the unadjusted girl is still a minor one in the towns but a serious one in the cities.

During the material awakening which is taking place in our midst, when the Smoky Mountain National Park is even now becoming a reality, and people from all parts of the United States are coming to view our wonderful scenery and bask in our salubrious climate, it is the part of every social worker's duty to see to it that in a mad rush of moneymaking, the people of Tennessee forget not the things that are higher. A continuous bombardment of the public should be made so that they may know and understand the work, aims and objects of the juvenile court, and something of its great needs.

Stimulating Interest

Interest may be stimulated by using members of various organizations as volunteer probation officers, even if their supervision is irksome and their work below par at times. In the city in which I live all agencies cooperate,—perhaps because the workers know each other so well. Over the state there exists some prejudice against and misunderstanding of the juvenile court.

Judges and probation officers should be urged to visit juvenile courts in other states and to attend state and national conferences. Probation officers should be experienced social workers. They should take a short course in psychiatric social work. They should urge the establishment of recreational centers and show the irate parent that not church-going alone but a mixture of healthful recreation and exercise will help to keep his girls good and his boys

straight. The probation officer must be strong physically for he will be expected to accomplish the work of several people and it will be nerve wracking work. Hours will be long and salaries small. Only those should be chosen who have education and culture, charm and tact, understanding and vision. What more could one ask for thirty cents? But the joy of accomplishment will make the effort worth while.

The goal of the State Welfare Division of Tennessee is that each county shall have an undifferentiated social worker. He, or she as I hope it will be in most cases, will have charge of the probation work in a given county. This officer's experience and close touch with the National Probation Association and other sources of inspiration will help to raise the standard of juvenile courts in the smaller places. Toward this end only a step has been taken. Welfare committees have been formed in eighty of the ninety-five counties. All of the committees have as one of their objectives, assistance to the judge of the juvenile court with his case work. In one county at least,—this,—the obtaining of a probation officer is the chief objective.

Adjusting Treatment to Diagnosis

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Before discussing the nature of the treatment which may be employed to improve the behavior of those coming into conflict with the law, it is important to arrive at a common understanding of the term "diagnosis" which so often indicates, at least in general terms, the treatment itself. As we review the underlying causes of delinquency and crime, it is clear that the facts or information needed to make a diagnosis change from time to time. In early times the family was the unit of society in a patriarchal social organization. The father rendered judgment and there was no appeal. His judgments was made, it was thought, with "divine guidance." Later, families were banded together as tribes or clans, then the tribes were united in states. As society became more complex, attitudes toward social offenders became less tolerant due to fear of unknown destructive social forces and to the universal need of self-protection. As a result, systems of legislation became more complex and more arbitrary for "society must be protected."

Revenge was one of the earliest weapons wielded against those who threatened the peace and integrity of the group. Such an attitude was directed against the act with no consideration of the person committing the act. Legislation dealt only with results or symptoms—not with causes. Crime and recidivism, in consequence, increased. The assumption that fear of punishment was sufficient to prevent crime has proved to be false. Fear of punishment may, and very likely does keep some individuals from committing certain acts, but it certainly has failed as a preventive for all anti-

social behavior. The loss of property and human life, and the cost to the state of apprehending, convicting and punishing offenders has become increasingly great, and such amazingly poor results have followed the old methods that a new evaluation of human behavior is needed.

Punishment for Punishment's Sake

To meet this demand helpful facts had to be secured. To this end studies were made in this country by such organizations as the National Committee for Mental Hygiene of inmates of prisons, reformatories, industrial schools and county jails as well as of individuals who passed through our juvenile and criminal courts. These studies demonstrated the need of understanding the person committing the act. They recognized the crime as a symptom or an indication that the individual was maladjusted in some way. It was clear that punishment for punishment's sake even under the guise of protecting society, often stimulated individuals to more vicious antisocial acts. In some instances prisoners while incarcerated have dedicated their lives to a destruction of society and its organized forces. I have examined hundreds of prisoners and have yet to meet the first real "criminal" who in his own estimation would ever be caught again. "Wait until I get out of here!" is the usual promise and threat. "See if they will ever catch me again. I sure made a mess of it last time." A man who is not going to be caught, a man who is certain that he has learned how to "beat the system," does not find punishment a deterrent. We must look then for another means of protecting society.

Breaking society's laws is an indication that the individual is not adjusted within himself and is not sufficiently developed in his social growth to make the adaptation demanded by society. The nature of these antisocial acts does not tell why "he is out of step" with his fellowmen. If an individual has a high fever, it means that his physical or organic make-up is not in proper running order. He may have diphtheria,

malaria, scarlet fever, pneumonia, typhoid fever, or any of a dozen or more diseases. The physician can not cure this man nor restore him to health until he determines the cause of the fever and treats that cause. Merely applying ice-bags will not restore a patient to health who is suffering from typhoid fever. Neither will locking the patient in a hospital room for an arbitrary number of days cure him. Methods such as you have just mentioned are absurd, you say. So they are. Nevertheless, they are the methods we have followed in dealing with individuals whose illnesses have shown themselves socially rather than physically. When a man breaks the laws of society it indicates that the brain, through which the mind functions, is out of order. How unintelligent it is to assume that punishment of itself will restore this man to mental and social health. I believe in punishment at times, but only when punishment is a part of the treatment, that is, when administered with a purpose based on a thorough knowledge of individual needs. Punishment is radical treatment and should be employed sparingly and only when indicated. If this plan is followed, treatment replaces revenge as a motive underlying the objective of institutions and courts.

Protecting Society

Society should and must be protected. This can be accomplished when people who have transgressed society's accepted order of living are so understood and treated that instead of transgressing again, they are willing to become law-abiding citizens. To obtain a knowledge of the facts basic to undesirable behavior, a complete study of the physical, social and mental make-up of each offender is necessary. As there is no one cause which always produces the same type of social behavior, nor any type of behavior which is invariably due to a single cause—a complete study is necessary if we are to learn the source of each individual's trouble. The feeling that the man who commits an undesir-

able act should be the object of our interest and not his acts, marks one of the most earnest and encouraging attempts to solve this very serious social problem. A child or adult who is healthy and happy as a rule is not committing serious antisocial acts. The necessity of always finding out the "why" of behavior is evident, if corrective or preventive results are to be obtained commensurate with the amount of money and effort invested.

Abnormal Social Behavior

The cause of abnormal social behavior is not as a rule apparent in the offense itself. A child may be a runaway because his older brother is always "bossing" him and thereby insulting his sense of personality, or it may be that he does not receive what to him are the necessities of life so he learns how to obtain them outside his home. He may return home from one of these roamings personally conducted by an officer of the law or because one of nature's demands such as hunger has overtaken him. He may be suffering from some physical disease which makes school an impossible problem; or, with an unintelligent school system which pushes him beyond his ability. To avoid the torture of any of these things he may play truant, later running away from home in order to avoid a thrashing for absenting himself from school. There are many reasons why a child runs away from home or school, steals, or does the things he should not do.

In the light of our present knowledge, gained from the mistakes and failures of yesterday, we recognize that courts and institutions dealing with folks who are finding it difficult or impossible "to go straight" must have as part of, or available to their regular court and probation machinery, facilities for making personality studies and obtaining facts. On this basis, dispositions in terms of well-worked-out plans for the good of each individual will replace punishment,—society's revengeful thrust at those who displease her.

We can only be ready for treatment after a thoroughgoing study of the causes and influences affecting the behavior of an individual. This study may be made through a careful history-taking, a thorough physical examination, and a well rounded out mental examination.

It is apparent that the plan of treatment is necessarily varied and involves much detail. Corrective work in the social field does not spring into being suddenly. It requires knowledge, training, experience, skill and patience. Many obstacles lie in the path of such treatment. If a pneumonia patient had a relapse or two, the physician would not withdraw his interest or services from the patient because he was displeased or because the case was "hopeless." And yet, in the probation field it is not an uncommon practice to request that "this boy be sent to an institution because he failed on probation." If judges read the records of such cases, or if the probation officers were more self-analytical would they not find that it was they who had failed the child and not the child who had failed them?

There is no wish to imply that the modern psychiatric approach is the panacea for all antisocial behavior. It is not. Certain individuals for a long time to come will have to be considered as institutional cases. We can, however, use our present knowledge to assist many who otherwise would not be helped.

Conditions Necessary for Treatment

In order that treatment may be best carried out, many conditions should be fulfilled.

The Judge. The judge should be a social worker, cognizant of the advances made in the social and medical sciences. He should be sympathetic and cooperative, realizing that the behavior of neither children nor adults "just happens," but is the result of causes, that human nature is not so simple or easily understood that it can be properly evaluated by talking to or looking at individuals. Such under-

standing only follows when the facts,—all of the facts,—which can be gathered by trained personnel are at hand. The possession of information of this sort by the judge makes his decisions and dispositions more accurate and more apt to bring about the desired constructive results. Real corrective or preventive work in a court is impossible unless the judge possesses a social viewpoint.

We examined for the court two girls who were arrested in a house of prostitution. One of them had been a prostitute for over three years; her father was dead and her mother who was protecting her was, we believed, benefited financially from the earnings of this girl's life of immorality. The other girl, two years younger, had a good home. Her father and mother were "stunned" by what she had been doing. So far as the probation officer could learn, the girl had only been connected with this sort of life for two weeks. She was under the domination of the older and more experienced girl. We saw no hope in probation for the first girl because of her years of experience, the attitude she had developed toward it, and the protection given by her mother. For this reason we recommended that she be committed to the girls' industrial school as other methods of treatment were not available to us. The younger girl had little experience in immorality, she had a good home with a father and mother who were willing to cooperate with the social worker for the child's good. We recommended probation for her.

Neither the probation officer nor the judge could see why the recommendations should be different. The judge said, "They both were arrested for the same thing, why play favorites?" This court had little vision of treatment. A "tooth for a tooth" was still the approach to those coming there for assistance and guidance.

The Probation Officer. The probation officer should be capable of appreciating the value of recommendations made as the result of a thorough-going examination and be desir-

ous and able to carry them out. Human beings are society's greatest assets. For this reason their future should not be entrusted to every one. A probation officer should not be chosen with a view to paying a political debt, nor because he or she is "a good church member." We neither entrust the repairing of our automobiles nor our watches to people with such qualifications. Why, then, do we entrust to them the most valuable of society's possessions,—the child or the adult? Too frequently probation officers are appointed because "they can do nothing else," or because they need the job. We seem to forget that to correct the habits of those who have met with difficulties, is a difficult task and challenges the ability of even trained teachers.

We must stop therefore, appointing as probation officers the "butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker." Probation work today is a highly skilled profession. Its possibilities are tremendous. Only well trained social workers with some understanding of the causes and treatment of human behavior should be entrusted with its responsibilities.

Treatment. The probation officer must realize that recommendations made and interpreted to the child and his parents are worthless unless carried out. The work of the probation officer commences only after the study of personality is made and the court has approved and prescribed the treatment recommended by the clinic. In too many courts it is assumed that bringing the child before the judge or an admonition from the bench to "go and sin no more" will, in some miraculous way, change the entire life of the child. Occasionally it may, but too frequently when the emotional experience of visiting the court has passed, the good resolution to change his way of living has gone with it.

Adopting Medical Procedures

The procedure developed in the medical sciences must be applied to social work in the court. In private or hospital practice, individual study of the physically ill has been recog-

nized as indispensable, regardless of how many are ill or how difficult it may be at times for the physician to pursue this course. Good probation or institutional work cannot be based on such unimportant facts as the number of "filings made this month," of truants appearing before the judge, or inmates paroled. We must estimate instead how successful we have been in preventing children or adults from further endangering lives or property, or from reappearing in court. Our success must be measured by the changes we make in their method of thinking and their environment.

This more practical method of evaluating the reasons underlying social behavior has necessarily given us a better gauge to measure the various factors involved. There is an increasing realization that the material things of the home such as food, sleeping conditions, neighborhood setting, although important, are not as significant as the immaterial influences such as the personality interplay of the different members of the household. Very frequently the individual's behavior is for him a natural outcome of the influences in his home. The arbitrary or selfish disciplining of a child by parents who are neither well adjusted nor happy in their own position in life, can do little else than fashion a child unable to adapt himself to the demands of his environment.

A Case Study

A boy was examined by us for truancy. He stayed out nights and stole, so the charge ran. He had been on probation several times and had failed. He had been encouraged by the court and probation officer to remain in school. He lived in one of our best residential districts and his parents were anxious for him to continue in school although the boy wanted to go to work. The boy had withdrawn from all athletics although he had been one of the outstanding boys in school sports. This withdrawal from his previous associations had been charged up to bad companions and lack of regular living during this period. As he did not im-

prove under probation, he was recommended for commitment to the industrial school.

Before this was done, we were requested to examine him. The family background was not important. The boy's early life was uneventful. He was in good condition physically and had average intellectual endowment, so that lack of ability to do high school work was not a factor. The real cause lay in the home.

His mother was an ambitious woman who gave much of her time to club work. She was prominent in church and neighborhood activities and somewhat aggressive. She had chosen the professional life she wanted her son to follow and had even decided upon the university he was to attend. The boy had no interest in the profession his mother had mapped out for him and as the time for taking college entrance examinations drew near, he began to worry. He could not tell his mother that he did not wish to do as she desired. He worried over it until he was unable to apply himself to his studies. He lost interest in school, athletics, church and social activities. All his attention centered on his own unhappiness. It took a long time to gather these facts from the boy. His confidence had to be secured first.

His father provided the material things of life but there his contribution ceased. He was one of those happy-go-lucky persons who spent very little time at home. Consequently, he saw very little of the adolescent boy who was in sore need of his companionship.

The cause of this boy's poor scholarship and misconduct during the past year was interpreted to his parents. The mother became convinced that it was necessary to allow this boy to have some part in the planning of his future. Arrangements were made for the boy and his father to take a trip during the holiday season. It was the first trip they had ever taken together. During this time the boy's future plans were discussed and his father learned that he wished to go into business. He selected a certain university where

he could secure the necessary training. On his return home the father told the mother of the boy's plans. She enthusiastically "fell in" with them knowing the part she should now play.

The change in the boy was almost miraculous. He lost his sullen and retiring attitude and became his former self.

Often from such an apparently simple beginning, serious behavior problems develop. It took hours of patient and skilful examining to learn the facts, more hours to convince the parents of the part they should play in helping the boy solve his problems, and still more hours to "engineer the treatment." The results, however, justified the expenditure of time and effort.

The intellectual factor in behavior has been overrated. Experience is teaching us more convincingly each year that our emotions determine a great deal more what our behavior will be than our ideas do. Our reactions to situations are almost invariably due to the emotional pattern stimulated. We go back and attempt to rationalize the act. We say we did it for this or that reason. Frequently this rationalization is not true. It is more important to guide a child so that his emotional life is normally developed, well integrated and under control than it is to have all his training aimed at developing his intellect. If his emotions are under control, we need have no worry about his "learning," for "if he acquires all the learning the world can give, and there be no emotional maturity, it were better he had not been educated."

Schools

The part played by our present school system in producing delinquents cannot be ignored. Miss Elizabeth Farrell, supervisor of ungraded classes in the New York public schools, is quoted in the *Mental Hygiene Bulletin* (March 1928) as stating that there were 48,000 truants a year in New York city. "It was worse than useless to

force them to return to a standardized course of instruction which did not suit their needs or capacities," stated Miss Farrell. Truants constitute the criminal class of the future, and the writer warns us to provide for them. The seriousness of the educational situation was further indicated by her statement that 38 out of every 100 pupils are misfits.

If our educational system was meeting the child's needs in terms of his particular abilities and disabilities, we should not have this army of truants and misfits nor the amazing number of children who drop out of school each year. The child leaves school in many cases because the school does not meet his needs. Frequently, on leaving school he does not go into a useful occupation. Through loafing, he gets in with bad companions, and frequently becomes known to the court. Why does a child play truant? There are many reasons. We cannot help a truant without finding out why he is a truant and then correcting these conditions. In each case we must recognize truancy as a symptom and treat the underlying cause, unless we desire to increase the population of our institutions to an even greater extent by our arbitrary and unsound school system. The court, the institution and the school must work together. They must face these problems frankly. The court especially can do much to stimulate school authorities to a greater understanding of their responsibility.

Recreation

The community often plays an important role as a causative factor in the delinquency of children by not providing adequate recreational facilities. It has been clearly demonstrated that where playgrounds have been established with supervised play, delinquency decreases. If a child does not have normal emotional expression he will get it through undesirable channels. It is economical and sensible for communities to spend money in preventing delinquency by providing play space and well trained supervisors. If this is

not done, the child is apt to find emotional release in destructive gang activity,—in breaking windows or stealing, or in innumerable other destructive ways. Well trained probation officers aware of the importance of play facilities should bring this need to the attention of the community. Music, reading, plays, athletics, and other activities should be made available to young and old. By these means crime may be checked and delinquency rates lowered. When we shall have made home, church, school and recreation as attractive as law breaking, we shall have struck a deathblow to delinquency and crime.

Physical Health

Poor physical health can and does bring about undesirable behavior. Health cannot be determined by merely looking at a child or by knowing that he comes from a good or bad part of town. The health needs of children must be followed up if we expect to be successful in our work. Telling a boy to have a certain thing done is not sufficient,—we must see that it is done. A child who is restless and cannot concentrate in school will surely get into trouble; a child with defective vision can easily acquire a dislike for school and truancy may result. An abnormal physical condition which is corrected often marks the beginning of good behavior in boys and girls previously delinquent.

Idleness

Idleness breeds trouble; for this reason treatment of delinquency or crime should include a schedule whereby the individual will be constantly occupied. "Idleness is the devil's playground." A child's time should be planned for him in terms of religious expression, school work, home duties, rest and play.

Industry

Industrial placing should not be arbitrary but should be fitted to the individual's abilities, disabilities and interests.

Too often inmates of institutions are "stuck into jobs" with no consideration for the man, because a place is vacant and some one is needed to fill it. Industry as a whole is guilty of the same offense and consequently is responsible for a certain percentage of "misfits." It makes no effort to place a man according to his abilities and deficiencies. Discomfort, irritability, dislike for work, changing jobs, loafing, crime, often follow as logical developments of this system. Many of the "floaters" in industry and an important percentage of disgruntled inmates of institutions are "round pegs in square holes."

Abnormal Mental Conditions

In some instances antisocial activity is but an indication of a diseased mind. Although mental disease does not rank high as a cause of delinquency and crime, it is nevertheless a factor and must be considered in the general program of diagnosis and treatment. Stealing, homicidal tendencies, wanderlust, are often but symptoms of a diseased brain. I have examined several men in prison who were frankly insane and could not conform even to the prison requirements. Because they were not raving maniacs, or had not deteriorated to the imbecile level, they were considered "tricky" and the prison officials "paraded" their feeling of superiority by pointing out that these men were not able to deceive them. Such cruelty based on ignorance is a constant reminder of the urgent need to establish a correct diagnosis before treatment is administered, especially when the treatment may take the form of punishment.

The feeble-minded, whose minds have not developed since they were children, have long since been recognized as constituting a rather large percentage of those coming into conflict with the law. However, very little has been done to meet their needs. With life becoming more complex, the feeble-minded individual has an increasingly difficult time to support himself. This is especially true in communities

where the school authorities have not provided facilities for industrial training.

The feeble-minded certainly have a place in society. There are many things they can do well which would not attract those with better developed minds. The mental defective who is not taught to use his limited abilities effectively, runs a greater chance of getting in trouble. Punishment cannot make him keep a job. Neither can fear of prison make him socially adaptable. He must be placed in a job suited to his limited abilities and treated like a child, not an adult.

Time does not permit even a casual indication of the treatment needs of the psychopathic,—the individual who is neither insane nor necessarily feeble-minded, but who has developed such an abnormal attitude toward self and society that he finds it difficult to live harmoniously with his fellow-men. His needs must be recognized if the court and institution carry out their responsibilities.

Follow-Up Work

If a diagnosis has been based upon a well rounded study of the individual's needs,—physical, social, moral and religious,—the probation officer should appreciate the importance of each individual recommendation and try to see that they are carried out, otherwise there is little hope of bringing about desirable behavior in probationers.

Modifying the behavior of a child or adult is as a rule a long, tedious process. A delinquent does not change his attitude because a judge, probation officer, minister, or physician tells him he should or must. Helping people to develop a new outlook on life is a very slow process. For this reason the probation officer should develop with the assistance of others who can help him, a well worked out plan which takes into consideration the needs of the individual. It may take days or weeks or even years, depending upon the age of the client and the nature of the problem.

It is when this insight does not characterize the efforts of probation officers that their work is condemned as sentimental and worthless.

In carrying out a prescribed treatment, there should be close cooperation on the part of the court, and especially the probation officer with religious, social, health and recreational agencies.

When new developments present themselves, the officer should consult the clinician. It is often necessary to have the patient return to the clinic several times for further observation and help, as it is only by united action that real adjustments can be made.

Is this Utopia,—a dream to be realized only by the theorist, or fanatic? No! The scientific approach to the understanding of human behavior although by no means completely developed, has long passed the experimental stage. The report of the Sub-Committee of the Medical Aspects of Crime of the National Crime Commission comments on the present situation as follows:—"Of the 259 public penal and corrective institutions, 93 employ psychiatrists on full time or part time, in addition to 85 who employ psychologists and 130 who refer cases to private physicians. Of the public groups the reformatories report the largest percentage of institution psychiatrists or psychologists. The smaller percentage is reported by the juvenile corrective institutions."

In conclusion then, the treatment of the probationer should be determined by his needs and not by his acts. His antisocial behavior is but a danger signal which shows that he is not able to cope with the demands of life. His needs cannot be determined by looking at him, nor listening to his explanation of his conduct. They are not suggested necessarily by the nature of his conduct. In most cases they can only be determined by a thorough study of the client in all of his relationships, and a treatment based on these findings. The court should not be a machine through which

individuals pass without intelligent help. Corrective institutions are not for isolation of punishment purposes only. Both court and institution should exist for treatment. To this end each should have available the clinical assistance necessary for securing information, and adequately trained officers able and willing to carry through the treatment recommended.

Court and Pre-Court Work With Boys

The Honorable W. S. Criswell

*Judge of the Juvenile Court of Duval County,
Jacksonville, Florida.*

In the field of bodily illness and disease most of us have seen the emphasis change from sickness to health, from pathology to prevention. The long whiskered pill doctor with his multi-colored remedies has passed. In his place is the clean-cut scientific practitioner who is interested in discovering by means of test tubes and the microscope what causes disease; then having found this his next interest is in eradicating it. There is much talk now of hygiene and less of the treatment of disease. The best treatment is prevention.

The same approach must be made to the social disease of delinquency among children. Any court not interested in the causes and conditions which bring children into custody, is not aware of its true purpose.

The ideal court has four clear-cut functions: first, the matter of handling in an intelligent and constructive manner those children who are brought into court; second, serving as a laboratory for the study of the causes of delinquency; third, the interpreting and trumpeting of these causes to the community which the court represents; and fourth, leadership in strengthening the agencies existing for the prevention of delinquency and in promoting new agencies when and where needed.

It is pretty generally recognized now that every community has about as many delinquents as it deserves. In other words, we are beginning to understand that at least ninety per cent of our delinquents are formed, shaped and directed into the antisocial conduct which we call delinquency

by conditions and factors outside themselves and for which they are in no wise responsible.

Among these causal factors are the following, which we shall name beginning with the least important and progressing to the most important: physical deficiencies, mental deficiencies, family deficiencies and social or community deficiencies.

There was a time when nearly every conduct disorder was attributed to teeth, tonsils, adenoids, glandular unbalance, being kicked by a mule or falling on the head, etc. These factors were over emphasized. But they are still important. No court measures up to its full duty which fails to insist on the correction of remediable physical defects. And no court judge or probation officer should fail to talk and work for the various health movements which seek to give children sound bodies. Medical inspection of school children, fresh air camps, school nurses,—these and many other agencies are the allies of the court, although often not recognized as such.

Recently feeble-mindedness had its flair and we were prone to attribute all juvenile iniquity to this condition. Likewise there was a companion tendency to call every delinquent crazy in some way. Now we are beginning to believe that neither mental weakness nor mental sickness are the all-inclusive factors in misconduct we once believed them to be.

These factors are very important however and should be so recognized by all workers with juvenile delinquents. Special classes, ungraded classes, visiting teachers,—in fact the whole movement toward fitting the school to the needs of the child rather than trying to force the child into academic and curricular grooves in the interest of a false efficiency and standardization, are matters we should all be interested in. Many of our cases are "school cases" and many of the school cases wouldn't be cases at all if the

school recognized and provided for the limitations and peculiarities of the children.

The mental hygiene movement is gradually shifting the emphasis from group treatment to individualization for custodial care of children whether it is the school or the institution. A wide-awake judge or probation officer should know and use the psychiatrist, the psychometrist, the child guidance clinics, and should promote and support the school people in their attempt to meet the needs of the individual child.

The matter of family deficiencies and the much discussed broken home also are recurring and perplexing factors in delinquency. Statistical statements vary; usually from 60 to 90 per cent of the children in court and in institutions come from inadequate, broken, or vicious homes. This means homes where one of both parents are missing. Step-parents do not seem to help much.

The court should, therefore be interested in family agencies seeking to protect or preserve the home; in all movements of an economic or social nature which help to stop the slow debacle of the home. Agencies of this kind are our allies in the fight against delinquency.

The most important single causal factor in the production of delinquency is social or community deficiency. A spot map of any city, based on delinquency, invariably shows a number of well defined districts or neighborhoods which produce most of the delinquents. These districts are invariably the weak spots of the city. They are places where the plane of living is low; the housing is poor; the churches weak; there are few if any playgrounds, and generally much vice and political and social corruption. It is just as natural for delinquency to grow out of this soil as it is for rank weeds to grow in a vacant lot. To be blind to these civic plague spots is to be blind to our civic duty as court officers. The promotion of playgrounds, settlements, clubs, sanitation, good housing is a part of our business. What boys do

in their leisure time is of tremendous importance from the standpoint of delinquency. Some of the tools to be worked with are the settlements, the Y. M. C. A., the playgrounds, the Big Brother movement, and the Boys' Club. Church and Sunday Schools are important factors for good; but they do not figure heavily in the leisure-time problem. One of the best specifics for delinquency when attacked through the leisure-time approach has been the Boys' Club,—a movement planned to meet the leisure-time needs of underprivileged boys on an undenominational basis, using athletics, games, hobby classes and whatever wholesome interest will appeal to the boy. Records of the Cook County Juvenile Court in Chicago show that a club of this kind reduced delinquency 73 per cent in one such plague spot in that city. A similar record even more startling was made in Tampa, Florida, where such a club was organized and supported by the Rotary Club of that city. This is not calculated to unduly emphasize the Boys' Club project over the other leisure-time agencies, but it does indicate a point of attack and a very successful method. The juvenile court must be concerned with all the reclamatory and child conserving movements in the community.

Fatherly talks, and voluminous and involved records promise little but recidivism. Probation, properly applied, and prevention all along the line, all the time,—these are the hopes of real courts. A judge or probation officer not interested in children outside the court ought to be saved the misery and trouble of trying to handle them when they come inside. As the old adage says,—

“Locking the door after the horse is stolen is poor business.”

An Experiment in Treatment of the Predelinquent Boy

Max W. West

*Probation Officer of the Cook County Juvenile Court,
stationed at Cicero, industrial suburb of Chicago*

Cicero is an incorporated village adjacent to Chicago. It is bounded on the north and west by Chicago and covers an area of six square miles. During the last ten years its population has increased about four hundred per cent and is now estimated at 75,000 including approximately 10,000 transient workers. Practically every nationality found in Chicago is represented in the population of Cicero, and in somewhat similar proportions.

Cicero is chiefly an industrial center. It is the home of about twenty-five factories or manufacturing concerns of which the Western Electric, normally employing 25,000 men and women, is the largest. Three of the largest railroad yards in Cook County are located in Cicero.

The school system is one of the best in the country. The city boasts of the second largest high school in the state of Illinois. In this high school there are 5,000 pupils. There are eighteen churches representing all denominations and creeds. Recently the park commissioners installed several playgrounds and a splendid new community house has been erected. A day nursery and a welfare center are maintained and financed by the community.

There is an active Boy Scout organization with a paid executive at the head. There is, however, no supervised boys' club at the present time.

Commercialized recreation consists of six movie houses, one of which cost one million dollars to erect; a Bohemian

Turner Hall which is equipped with the very latest and most modern apparatus, a swimming pool and a beautiful ballroom; the Hawthorne Horse Racing Track and the Larmie Dog Track; bowling alleys and pool and billiard rooms. The children of Cicero are subjected to about the same general environment as the children of the working class in Chicago.

Cicero has become widely known as the rendezvous of Chicago's most notorious gangsters and has long been the butt of vaudeville jokes which picture the town as the "wickedest of the wicked." Because of these stories, the community has been greatly misunderstood.

Old Days and Methods

Previous to the introduction of the Cicero plan four years ago the delinquent children of Cicero when arrested by the police were sent to the Juvenile Detention Home according to the policy of police districts outside the city of Chicago. Their cases were then assigned to the county probation officer for investigation to determine whether their case should be brought before the juvenile court of Cook County. Often they are adjusted outside of the court to the satisfaction of the police and the community. One great difficulty is that the complainant or police officer often insists upon filing a delinquent petition, which is his legal right, and as a consequence the opportunity for a successful social adjustment and for treatment of the case before it comes into the juvenile court or the detention home is lost.

New Methods Tried

About four years ago the police department of Cicero designated one of its members, a young, intelligent and fairly competent police officer, to act in the capacity of a police probation officer. He was given a volunteer probation officer's commission by the juvenile court of Cook

County. Being untrained and inexperienced in the handling of social welfare problems he became discouraged and resigned from the work. He gave as his reason that he found it too complicated to act in the capacity of both policeman and probation officer. With the failure of the police probation officer, the problem was taken up with the judge of the juvenile court and with the sanction of the juvenile court the plan which is to be described in this paper was instituted.

At this time, I was county probation officer of the juvenile court in the Cicero district. The responsibility of making an arrangement with the Cicero police department fell upon me. It was agreed that I was to act in an advisory capacity only, first to the child, then to the community and then to the police. I was to be permitted to pass on the cases of all children arrested, suggesting the social treatment; advising as to the method of adjustment at the time of arrest or as soon thereafter as possible before the child had reached the detention home or the juvenile court. The authority to release or detain such children was to remain in the hands of the police. They retained power to determine final action.

No attempt was made to immediately socialize the police department. The plan was permitted to develop slowly, and step by step police cooperation was secured, until a practical plan was worked out which has reduced juvenile delinquency over sixty per cent in the community.

How the Plan Works

When a boy is arrested by the police an attempt is made to get in touch with his parents or guardian immediately, or if the officer thinks it advisable he releases the boy and tells him to appear at the station at a specified time with his parents. When a boy is picked up and taken to the station the police call the "flivver squad" and not the patrol wagon. When the release is not to be made until after

consultation with the parents, and the parents cannot be reached by telephone, the flivver squad is sent for them. The Chicago police are also asked to notify parents of Chicago boys arrested in Cicero. When a boy is taken into custody during the day, the conference between the parents, the police officer and myself is usually set for seven p. m. of the same day. When a boy is taken into custody during the night, I am subject to call as my services are available to the department until two a. m. While the boy is held at the station awaiting a conference, he is allowed to sit in the sergeant's office instead of being locked in a cell. The police officer does not attempt to assume the role of social worker, nor does the social worker assume the role of policeman. The social worker makes no arrests under any circumstances, neither does he play the part of a judge who seals the boy's fate. He acts rather as an adjustment officer who settles the case at once if he receives the necessary cooperation, or who can carry it on to the court if that should prove necessary. He tries, however, to keep it out of court, if possible. It is explained to the parents that his recommendations are entirely unofficial.

The police headquarters are located in the town hall where an available unoccupied room is used for the conference. The police understand, much to their credit, that it is the delinquent and not the delinquency which is being treated and treatment is administered accordingly. Emphasis is placed on the social factors rather than the complaint. The latter is considered only the occasion for the adjustment of a social situation. The reasons for the boy's difficulty are explained. The boy is given a chance to make his statement. Family and school situations are discussed and the facts usually brought out in an ordinary social investigation for a juvenile court are ascertained. What the boy and the parents should have done and what they still can do, are set forth and constructive suggestions are made with the reasons for them. These suggestions may include any-

thing from the breaking with old associates, to the recommending of boys' organizations, suggestion of a change in school, the finding of a job, the advising of weekly allowance for spending money, making arrangements for moving the family into new quarters or to a new neighborhood, placement with a relative or another family, or physical or psychiatric examinations.

No formal record is made of these conferences. When a plan has been arranged and agreed upon, the entire matter is submitted to the police, generally the lieutenant-in-charge, who may give a final word of advice which is often very helpful. If the boy is to be released, his parents must agree to assume full responsibility in carrying out the plan decided upon. Upon this agreement the boy is discharged and permitted to go home. Usually one or two visits are made to check up results. In cases where court action is decided upon the boy is not necessarily sent to the Juvenile Detention Home to await the court hearing, he may be allowed to go home with the understanding that the parents bring him into court on the date of the hearing. Children are sent to the Juvenile Detention Home only when it is absolutely necessary to protect them or the community or where the parents cannot be relied upon. It is chiefly necessary in the cases of recidivists.

Figures Tell A Story

During the first eleven months of 1927, 146 boys were arrested by the Cicero police. The largest number, 18 were arrested in April, and the smallest number 6, in September. Of these 146 boys, 21 were out-of-town boys and the remaining 125 were residents of Cicero; 34 came under the classification of dependents, feeble-minded, escapes from institutions, etc., leaving 112 cases in which attempts at adjustment were possible. In 87 of these cases the first adjustment has apparently been successful; that is of 92 cases having their first contact with the police, 87 were adjusted

without court action, and 5 were successfully adjusted after being brought into the juvenile court. Twenty additional cases of first offenders were apparently successful on a second or subsequent adjustment. Only 25 out of the 146 boys taken into custody were sent to the Juvenile Detention Home. In all we had 11 boys examined by the Institute for Juvenile Research. Of the boys taken into custody and allowed to go home to the parents with the understanding that they return for conference, only one boy failed to keep the appointment. It was necessary to notify this boy a second time.

Factors Which Make for Success

There are several factors which seem to contribute to the success of the "Cicero plan." The first is that adjustments are made at once without a wait of eight or ten days for the case to be heard in the juvenile court. The psychological situation is different and less effective after the parents have become reconciled to the boy's absence and the boy to his detention. The plan also avoids any of the possible dangers of congregate detention. The police station seems to be successful in securing the cooperation of the boy and the parents. The evening hour makes it possible for the father to be present without missing work. Among the foreign groups the father is the real head of the household. The probation officer acts as a mediator. The extreme informality of the hearing reduces to a minimum any antagonism which might otherwise arise.

Then there are the personal factors. The socialized attitude of the police department aids in the success of the plan. The police have never resented our advice or recommendations. They feel that it makes their position stronger in the community and does not in any way disturb the police authority which after all is the constituted authority of any city. Experience has demonstrated very clearly that

it is not only possible but practical for a social worker to cooperate with the police department effectively.

Case Stories

Let me cite you the case of a thirteen year old boy who was charged with stealing a small diamond ring and fifty cents from his home. He was picked up by the police on the complaint of the father, and was held in custody until the father arrived at the police station about seven p. m. The father was a nervous, irritable man. He was out of patience with the boy and insisted that he be taken to the juvenile court. The father firmly believed that the boy had sold the ring and spent the money and in this way had brought disgrace upon the family. He admitted that he had found corporal punishment useless in the boy's case and for this reason wanted nothing further to do with him. When interviewed by the police, the boy denied that he had taken the ring. Jimmie was an average boy, somewhat undernourished, but very active, reflecting strongly his father's nervous temperament. He trembled at the thought of returning home. He said attempts had been made to smother him with a pillow and punishment had been meted out to him for things of which he was innocent. I said to him very calmly, "Jimmie, where is the ring and the half buck?" He immediately dug down into a concealed pocket and produced the much talked of ring and the half dollar. He explained that he had only intended to show the ring to his school companions but on afterthought was afraid to go home because he might be punished for having taken it. His home was a very unhappy one. He felt keenly that he was considered the black sheep of the family although he had no previous delinquent record.

The father on seeing the ring and money, wept. He acknowledged that he had been unfair to the boy. He wanted to assume his full responsibility for Jimmie's care and happiness as he felt he really loved him. We pointed out to the

father that in order to bring about a successful adjustment in Jimmie's case, it would be necessary for him to change his attitude toward Jimmie and to instill confidence in him through parental love. Jimmie was permitted by the police to go with the father. This adjustment was made about a year ago and has proved a lasting one.

We shall next relate a case where the adjustment suggested at the police station failed because of a lack of co-operation on the part of the mother. Investigation of the home showed that the father had been dead several years. The mother who was receiving county aid supported herself and two boys by working part time. George, at fifteen, left school because he wanted to work. He was refused a work certificate on the ground that he was physically unfit and in need of an operation for hernia. The mother paid no attention to this decision and allowed him to roam the streets. He was picked up by the police when attempting to remove parts from an old automobile. At the conference with the mother at the station, she admitted her neglect of the boy's condition, but pleaded for an opportunity to have her family physician examine and care for him. The boy pleaded piteously to return home. The mother was given the opportunity to take the boy with her. Instead of taking him to a physician, she became interested in a charlatan who advertised in a foreign language newspaper. In order to protect the boy a petition was filed in the juvenile court and on the recommendation of three doctors the court ordered an operation. The mother refused to accept charity. Through the aid of a church worker the services of one of the best surgeons in the city was secured and the mother consented to the operation. The operation was successful; the boy secured work and has become the main support of the family. Although the plan as suggested in the police station was not carried out in the beginning, it was the one which was ultimately adopted.

Alex, a boy of twelve, was arrested on the complaint of

a neighbor who was a friend of the family. The neighbor charged him with entering his home and stealing a newspaper and several pennies. The social history showed that Alex's mother had died several years before and that an eighteen year old sister who was employed during the day was managing the home. There was nothing to interest the boy at home. The father, while a good provider, was not especially concerned with the children. Alex loved to read but had nothing to read at home. The neighbor was in the habit of giving him the daily paper after he had finished reading it.

When arrested, Alex admitted very freely that he had made a skeleton key for the express purpose of entering the complainant's home. Although the boy had no previous delinquent record it appeared on the surface that he was guilty of burglary. After our interview I was fully convinced that the boy's desire to read was so keen that he formed the habit of secretly entering the home of the complainant to procure the paper. He emphatically denied ever having taken anything out of the house because the complainant was a dear friend of the family and always had treated him kindly. Needless to say the plan in Alex's case provided for some good reading and a daily newspaper.

This case resulted in an arrangement being made with the Cicero Public Library whereby discarded books were turned over to me to be placed in the hands of children who, for some reason or other, could not avail themselves of library privileges.

Family Quarrels

Often boys are arrested for some destructive act indirectly brought about by a quarrel between families. On investigation the motive of revenge for some trivial thing is very apparent. In dealing with these cases we take a very firm stand with the parents. They are given to understand that the children cannot be used to carry on their quarrels and

that they themselves are liable to prosecution. Appeals based on family pride and knowledge of the responsibility they have as citizens of the community, have almost eradicated this type of delinquency.

The police have impressed me as being sincere and honest in their efforts to be constructive in their dealings with children. They are often very helpless when confronted with social problems. They are called upon by the department to satisfy some one, either the complainant, the parents or the arresting officer, but having at their disposal a practical social worker who understands the problems and can work in harmony without a demonstration of undue authority, the handling of a predelinquent child is greatly facilitated.

Off Beaten Paths With the Problem Boy

Harrison A. Dobbs

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In our dealings with poorly adjusted boys, we are apt to follow well beaten and traditional paths. Casual survey of the annual reports of any juvenile court clearly emphasizes the course which our present-day technique usually follows—consisting of investigation, court appearance, probation, institutional placement, and finally parole. Each step follows the other and then possibly, after a time, because of renewed social difficulties, there comes a costly repetition of the whole complicated system. Of course, such procedure can be and often is exceedingly effective. No one would suggest that we walk wholly away from the general principles which we have been following and which have been carefully built up through long years of child welfare pioneering. Fortunately, there have been many far-reaching changes and advances. Only a century ago, our predecessors in social work were protesting public hangings for juvenile offenders. Whipping and branding as corrective and deterrent agents today have become generally prohibited. Children formerly jailed with adult prisoners and brought into criminal courts for hearing have recently been allowed a protected detention, and the wisdom of chancery proceedings has been firmly established.

Tried Roads

We should perhaps discuss rightfully not so much new paths, but a wiser and more thorough use of some of the old paths, reconditioned, better illuminated, reaching far-

ther, and chiefly purposed, not as immediate escapes from unpleasant emergency situations for the community, but as tried roads which lead the individual child to a fuller and happier adjustment. There will be new signposts to guide us; new scientific short cuts to aid us; new community resources to strengthen us; new standards and ideals to stimulate us, but with them all—the same problem—that of finding the easiest and most certain way of bringing about the child's redirection.

Causes of Failure

A careful search for causes of failure in our present day technique of handling problem cases, emphasizes one factor of fundamental importance in any constructive case consideration, and that is the individual with whom we are dealing. Any acceptable plan which we may formulate for the child's redirection must necessarily depend upon the individual make-up of a particular child. This individualization of case procedure certainly affords an advantageous point of view and offers a method of diagnosis and treatment materially strengthened by scientific analysis and interpretation. Psychiatric approach to the problems of children represents our most promising and most effective departure since the program of probation made its far-reaching and revolutionizing appearance.

Persons who have the responsibility of directing children have always been honest seekers after ways and methods to better the development of those for whom they feel responsible. Sometimes this eagerness has made of them extremists, faddists and single-track experimenters. Their attempts have nevertheless generally resulted in the betterment of the individual whose problems demanded attention. For some years ago we accepted with enthusiasm the corrective formulae of the physical hygienists and measured our probable case successes by the number of tonsils and adenoids removed, and by the degree of interest manifested

in the child's physical well-being. Still, we had our case failures. The economist and the sociologist invited us to travel their road of thinking and the popularity of movements directed toward the altering of environmental situations was everywhere apparent. Delinquencies continued. Extravagantly proclaimed educational experimentation challenged present day teaching methods and antiquated school curricula. A new era of freedom for the child was boldly heralded. This era brought chiefly disappointment. The vogue of testing intrigued us. We found terms of measurement convenient. Quantitative explanations found widespread but dangerously misused employment. With slow growth and demonstrated reliability, the proponents of the mental hygiene approach to conduct disorders gained headway and recently we have become eager followers of the psychologist and the psychiatrist in their behavioristic researches.

The Outcome of Years

What has been the outcome of these years of tolerant meandering? Chiefly, an active consciousness by the community which expresses itself in farsighted legislation and in wise provision for adequately financed and professionally directed resources; a consciousness of the unending importance in any program of redirection and rehabilitation of the individual and his specific mental, physical and social characteristics. In our search, therefore, of causative factors in any delinquency situation, even the slightest discrepancy in individual make-up interests us. The altering of a single irregularity may remove the imbalance existing.

Case Stories

Walter K., fifteen years and four months of age, the son of a Lithuanian laborer, appeared before the court on delinquent petition which named stealing, truancy from home and school and general incorrigibility. It suggested further,

the advisability of placing him in an institution. The judge, who was socially-minded and concerned with this boy's ultimate welfare, as well as keenly aware of the community's responsibility, referred the patient for intensive laboratory study. This relatively simple case had the following possible discrepancies to offer:

1. Diseased tonsils, carious teeth, bad physical posture.
2. Continued illness during seven years of childhood.
3. Dull and backward by intelligence classification.
4. Early parental school placement preceded and followed by long continued schoolroom maladjustment.
5. Father's irregular occupation and mother's semi-invalidism.
6. Vacillating standards of family discipline and control.
7. Unsatisfactory recreational contacts.
8. Illegal part-time employment in newspaper alleys, offering escape from school and opportunity for self-maintenance independent of home direction.

Careful consideration of any one of the above mentioned factors is most illuminating. A thoroughgoing exploration of each will most likely substantiate the now generally accepted belief that even a slight irregularity left unattended may ultimately produce a discrepancy of serious consequence. For example, in the case just cited, the wholly unsatisfactory schoolroom adjustment of the boy offers not only an excellent beginning for conduct troubles but suggests a starting point in a constructive treatment program which we may formulate as well. According to the usual intelligence tests, Walter's achievement rating recommends grade placement no higher than 6-B. He has actually been forced to attempt 8-A. After examination for specific subject ability by the clinical examiner, grade 5 arithmetic is recommended, indicating thereby, a dangerous acceleration of three school grades above that with which the patient is comfortably able to comply. On this basis alone, truancies from school with their associated difficulties are to be ex-

pected. When one recalls that two years previous to the first court appearance, parental school placement was ordered by the court, one wonders why investigation and corrective recommendations regarding this particular defect were not made at the time of his detention within a distinctly academic institution.

The "Whys" of Our Problems

"Whys" represent questions of very great and far-reaching importance to us who deal with these problem children. We are being brought face to face constantly with the realization that everywhere and in nearly every case, certain very simple but fundamental matters are being left almost wholly unattended. Our much hackneyed excuses to the individual offender and to his community are losing weight and the bugaboo offered by a too heavy case load, limitation of diagnostic service and curtailment of resources is no longer readily accepted. Careful experimentation, with objective control, has evidenced the economy and efficiency of adequate community standards and warrants the establishment of provisions for proper case handling. Because we, individually or collectively, have been unable to sell these constructive ideas to our prospective communities, is no reason why our failure should be thus apologetically passed by. Ways and means to satisfactorily "put the program over" must be carefully worked out.

Our Nearsightedness

For the most part we are a nearsighted people. Alms-houses, prisons, insane hospitals, in fact, the whole group of adult charitable and correctional institutions, stir us emotionally in a most sympathetic fashion. The community takes great pride in the attention which it gives to the increasing demands of our adult social activities. We watch the long procession of men and women with broken bodies, diseased minds, poor social adjustments and economic handicaps and

we are moved to encourage heavy bonding issues, generous pensions, prison reforms and what not to ease the burdens and problems of this unfortunate class whose lives are now about spent and whose community contributions will always be limited despite our utmost efforts. It would be unkind for us to alter our attitude toward this great group or to lessen our efforts in their behalf, but a rational, far-sighted conception of these problems directs our attention to early failures and inadequacies in our present technique of training for life and urges us to seek the very beginnings of these social irregularities and handicaps.

Records That Tell a Story

Case work methods, used in a careful study of adult institutional intake, bring to light many illuminating and pertinent facts. It is evident from such research that, in very many instances, prison and poorhouse inmates were once poorly adjusted children in whom the community at the proper time should have exercised a constructive supervision and authoritative direction. Likewise, it can be shown from the follow-up records of institutions for dependent or delinquent children that many of this group become adult charges—not always of course, but at least in such a degree that it warrants searching investigation into the extent, methods, and permanency of training and treatment. It is most important then that the community view its problem children with intelligent concern and make sure that every facility is provided for the proper understanding and direction of each individual child. In these things rests not only the child's future happiness, but the determination of his ultimate position as that of a liability or asset in the community.

A Story That Illustrates a Breakdown in Technique

The case of Elmer offers a splendid example of breakdown in present day technique. This boy, sixteen years five

months of age, was brought into court with four others for a series of oil station robberies. The five were committed by the court to the county's readjustment school for a three months' period. Three of the boys absented themselves a day after admission, but Elmer and Roy remained. The superintendent released these boys with an excellent record to their old environment ten weeks after admission. On the very night of release, however, Elmer was rearrested for a new oil station robbery and offered as his excuse, the desire to secure money for the hard-pressed family of Roy, his partner, in training. The seriousness of the case recommended a long period of correctional school placement. In justice to the boy, however, the court agreed to refer the matter to the research division and accept its scientific decision. Briefly, its findings were these: an underdeveloped physically unattractive individual, classified mentally as dull and backward; parental attitude European and unpromising; personality highly introverted and much evidence of deepseated inferiority complexes of great activating influence, in short, the very picture of a boy who would engage in a hold-up to get a "stand-in" with his one faithful companion. The clinic's recommendations were definite. There was to be no unpromising institutionalization to accentuate the boy's feeling of inferiority, but a return to his own home under intensive supervision; immediate corrective physiotherapy; psychiatric conferences with the boy's parents to alter their attitude toward the offender; vocational placement in suitable industry; prompt establishment of new contacts in acceptable social organizations of the community; and frequent conferences between the parents, the boy's supervisor and the staff of the clinic.

This very progressive court procedure contained commendable community provisions for study and formulation of program and offered bright prospects for the individual's ultimate social productiveness. Here there must be a sharp leaving of old paths for the new. Such a case situa-

tion is an emergency. It calls for immediate and effective action. The too great tendency or the unfortunate necessity of leaving the actual "doing" until tomorrow in so many of these problem cases represents a matter of great social loss to the community and a very unfair disadvantage to the patient, so vital is his need of treatment. In a case where corrective therapy is so simple and so definite as in those just described, it is to the shame of our social work standards and of our probation provisions, that three weeks after the court's highly experimental disposition of this case, no supervisory contact had been made. The fumbling efforts of father and son to cure their own ills without guidance or instruction, are pathetic reminders that as yet our social work technique does not carry the surety and exactness which the medical sciences guarantee physically sick individuals.

Stocktaking

Too extreme pessimism is psychologically dangerous. However, occasional stocktaking is a part of all sound business procedure and is of some value to us who are dealing with the uncertain quantities of mankind. Just how far have we gone in achievements relating to the behavior problems of children? Have we yet learned the wisdom of dealing with early symptoms, or must we still limit ourselves to end products with habit patterns firmly established and only find ourselves called upon because a surgical emergency exists? Are we satisfied with a community support which weakly backs us morally and financially and which, because of indifference or ignorance or intention, allows social factors in the community to imbue and weaken our efforts?

Do we recognize the spiritual and social possibilities of our young charges, and are we determined that their rights to growth and development shall be safeguarded with an insistence that is almost revolutionary? Does the child, himself, with his perplexities and irregularities, stimulate us to

greater activity and kindlier feeling, or does he become one of those cases, "the sooner closed, the better?"

No! the paths are hard but not unpleasant. The fruits of our labors may be small but they are exceedingly valuable. Our material is uncertain and often poor in quality, but our purpose is steadfast. We utilize all we have or can secure in the building of these citizens of tomorrow. May we, as workers with the problem boy, exclaim with Laurence Sterne:

"I pity the man who can travel from Dan to Beersheba and cry 'Tis all barren!'—And so it is, and so is all the world to him who will not cultivate the fruits it offers. 'I declare' said I, clapping my hands cheerily together, 'that were I in a desert, I would find out wherewith in it to call forth my affections.'"

The Missing Girl

Rhoda J. Milliken

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To the general public the missing girl is like the mid-Victorian baby "out of the everywhere into the here,"—in the headlines today, lost sight of tomorrow! To the social worker in every field and to the police in particular, she with her brother, the missing boy, is an ever present symbol of an apparently inexhaustable supply of recruits for the field of vice and crime. It has been stated that there are some sixty-five thousand girls who are completely lost, each year in the United States. This figure is undoubtedly computed on a basis of girls reported missing. Police and probation officials could add to this figure hundreds of girls who were never officially reported missing by their families or their communities but who sometimes, years after their disappearance from home, turn up wrecks of humanity for whom little can be done. If there is an alert, active police force backed by the intelligent cooperation of the community, the missing girls stand a chance of being returned in a short time.

Where Do Missing Girls Come From?

Where do the missing girls come from? Tradition has it that in generations past while boys who belonged to what is designated as the upper class, departed frequently from the parental roof-tree, the girls never did; that only with the advent of the modern girl have "nice people's" daughters taken French leave of their families. I doubt these statements seriously. I am inclined to think that the lurid

descriptions of the kidnapping and enticing away of respectable young females which used to appear frequently in the yellow journals, was simply an excellent smoke screen. Undoubtedly, if police departments of old had kept "missing records" as they do now, one would find many a report on such an incident closed with the brief statement, "Family requests no further investigation. Department satisfied no crime has been committed."

There are no social distinctions in the fraternity of the missing. Why? Because there are proportionately just as many maladjusted individuals in one walk of life as another. We know that although material poverty is not to be passed by as a definite contributing factor, mental and spiritual poverty are far greater factors in an individual's inability to adjust himself. In the presence of this inability to adjust lies the most significant answer to the flippant popular question, "Why girls leave home?"—or for that matter why anybody leaves home. These girls who take the reins in their own hands so blithely furnish a striking example of that human impulse which is confined to no age, sex, race or condition; that same motive back of the courage of pioneers and the weakness of criminals; the overwhelming desire to get away from an intolerable situation which gives courage to dare the unknown rather than face the known.

No Social Barriers Among the Missing

Viewed from this angle what difference is there in the problem created by Maria Louisa Josephine Sanlucci, Italian, aged thirteen years, who failed to return home from school, and Cynthia Stuyvesant VanDuyk, American, aged fourteen years, who left home the same day. If the stories reach the press, one may be carried as a runaway and the other "the mysterious disappearance of a daughter of the rich. Foul play suspected."

Mario Sanlucci, tears streaming down his weather-beaten face, leans across the rail to the desk sergeant. "My Maria

he gone. You find him queek. My God he good girl, doan let him getta spoil."

The desk sergeant patiently extracts the necessary information on eyes and hair, weight and complexion, clothing and jewelry and such other bits of information as Mario can give.

Schuyler VanDuyk goes to the mayor or the commissioner of public safety, the chief of police, or whoever happens to be the highest official, and lays the problem before him. In any case, whoever takes "the lookout," the one all important question is "Why didn't that young one like her home?"

What Happens?

This is what may happen to both fathers. If you have an up-to-date police department, the fathers are assured that within an hour every man and woman on duty in the department will be on the lookout for their daughters, every railway station, bus terminal dock, motor road, flying field, will be under observation. Policemen will cover the hospitals, hotels, rooming houses, theatres, movies, dance halls, in short every place on their beats where the girls might turn up. Further than this the lookout will be recorded in the Social Service Exchange and within twenty-four hours will have been received by all the neighboring cities. Finally from the Division of Missing Girls and Women, will be detailed one or more policewomen to make a special investigation. We of the police call all this setting in motion of machinery "trusting to chance" and are eternally grateful that luck is with us so often, and that the policeman or policewoman does happen to pick Cynthia out in a crowd at some railway station a few hours later, or by chance happens to be at the dance hall when Maria Louisa Josephine comes in to get her first taste of bright lights and jazz music. No one except the officer who has been through it knows what it means to go day in and day out, night in

and night out on some thin thread of evidence which leads only to a blank wall; to try to get from a grief-stricken mother some bits of information which will fill out the puzzle; to secure from friends, neighbors, the school, or any of the hundred and one other sources, some ray of light. All this time little Maria's mother runs to the office, voluble in her misery, hysterical in her grief. "You tinka dis, you doa dat. Oh, Dio mio, why you doan do someting? My girl he be spoil." And you have to persuade her to go home to her other children, induce her to feed them, wash for them, send them to school and in general take care of her household.

Mr. VanDuyk calls up, comes to the office, discusses a thousand and one possibilities for action, announces in one breath that he trusts his daughter absolutely; that there is no need of looking for her in any of these queer places, and in the next declares that you never can tell what a modern girl will do. In his day and time this sort of thing didn't go on. He confides that his wife is so broken up that he had to summon the doctors and get a trained nurse. He suggests with the hope that it won't offend that perhaps it would be well to call in Burns or somebody like that on the case. He can't see how such a goodlooking girl as Cynthia could pass unnoticed so long. Any effort to explain to him that he passes a dozen girls a day on the street who would answer Cynthia's description perfectly, is useless. Then when the limit of endurance seems to be reached, a telegram comes through the night, let us say from the probation officer of the Woman's Court in New York City, "Holding on disorderly charge Helen Clarke, fifteen, white, claims aunt 1026 Johnson Avenue, also husband Jack Clark, Captain Marine Corps, deserted her. Investigate and advise." The address is fictitious but the name is that of Cynthia's best friend who is home safely tucked in bed. Back goes a wire to New York carrying Cynthia's description and other necessary information. A few hours of suspense and then, "De-

scription fits stop girl denies identity can relative come." VanDuyk sets out armed with photographs and birth record. He is grimly determined to teach the young lady that she can't play with her parents in any such fashion. He returns with a young woman equally determined not to be bullied.

The record for Cynthia is marked "O.K. Located in New York. Returned by father" and every one settles back with a sigh of relief. That is, every one but the policewoman who has carried on the investigation. During this time she has learned much about the family, about the girl and her relationship to it and to the rest of the community. If she is the trained worker that she ought to be and is in most places, she has secured information as indispensable to the social worker as the x-ray is to the diagnostician. Under the burden of this trouble the child's parents have dropped the veil with which they sought to hide the family strife and friction. Much is revealed to one trained to recognize it that would never be brought out in other ways,—material which gives the key to the whole situation. It is as definitely a part of the policewoman's duty in the prevention of delinquency to secure the necessary treatment for the child and her family from whatever source it may be available, as it is to prosecute some outsider for contributing to the delinquency of a minor or violating the Mann Act. The fact that a family or a community has failed in the past to effect an adjustment with one of its members should be the basis not for a repetition in an aggravated form, but for a better understanding of the needs of all involved in the case. This can be accomplished if there is trained and co-ordinated service.

The Case of Maria Louisa Josephine

All of this depends, of course, on whether the disappearance of the girl is the outward and visible sign of maladjustment. With the case of Maria Louisa Josephine it is different. She, too, left her home town and went far afield.

The fear of parental discipline, based on experience with the Latin temperament, was very great in her. Untrained, unequipped, she fared pretty badly. True she secured a job, —but what is ten dollars a week in a ten cent store? A girl friend picked up in a dance hall showed her the old easy way to add to her income. Then one night the dance hall where she and the girl friend were in the habit of soliciting was raided. This was in a community which availed itself of the most modern methods of preventing delinquency and protecting youth. It had a good police department with trained women in its service; it had a good court with an effective probation staff; it had numerous private agencies of various types ready to aid the police and the court in any necessary rehabilitation work. If only Maria Louisa had not been afraid. Those of us who come closely in contact with the mistakes and failures in life know that for the one case where fear has been a deterrent there are thousands where fear has been the force that has driven them down and down and down beyond the reach of any human help.

A policewoman took charge of the girl after the raid with one idea uppermost in her mind, namely to find out where Maria came from because she was an "out-of-town girl" obviously young and inexperienced. Maria was equally determined that her family should never know where she was, for fear they would learn what she had been doing. In spite of innumerable telegrams, court time arrived with Maria still unidentified. The policewoman called the attention of the court to this fact and asked that the case be referred to the probation office for further investigation. This was done. Maria, however, steadily persisted in giving misinformation and clung to her first statement that she was eighteen years old. The court finally placed her on probation. Her probation officer continued to make every effort to find out where Maria came from until the volume of correspondence became a joke in the court. All the while, Maria feared that somehow by some chance her parents

would learn of her whereabouts, so after a few weeks she again solved her problem in the only way she knew—she ran away. We don't know what become of her. In the first police department Maria's "lookout" has gone into the inactive file. The average police officer holds it to be a true saying that no person is permanently missing; sooner or later that person comes to light.

But there can be a better way of learning the end of Maria's history than waiting for her to turn up in some workhouse or reformatory or morgue. In the first place, we must establish in all our police departments a special division staffed with trained workers devoted to work with missing girls. We can, and have in many places, already noticeably reduced the number of "inactive cases" in the files. I believe that in Detroit and Washington there was success during the last year in over ninety per cent of the cases. There is one step further by which we can reduce to a minimum the number of "lost" girls and that is through the establishment of a National Bureau of Missing Persons. If Maria's probation officer had been able to send her picture and description to such a Bureau, she and the police-woman would not have been forced to stand by helplessly, while Maria disappeared into the unknown.

The Placement of the Girl In Industry

Mrs. Addie F. Sortor

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A girl often leaves school with the intention of going into some kind of office work. When she finds that "some kind of office work" she may discover that she is not fitted to hold the position. What happens then? Often the girl becomes discouraged and drifts about until a lack of employment and discouragement bring on delinquency.

When J. F. Wright, Secretary of the Pathfinders, was asked what was the greatest problem confronting America today, he replied, "human engineering." With all the work being done in our schools and through our social welfare organizations, we still take the girl and put her in the first job that opens. We do not study her as we should. We do not try to find out what her possibilities are. If we are ever going to be human engineers, we must be square with the girl. It is our business to go from effect to cause and back again.

A girl of about twenty-five walked into my office one day last fall, seeking a position. "What kind of a position do you wish?" I asked. "Office work," she replied. "I have just graduated from a business college and want a job." "What kind of work have you been doing?" I asked. "I have been a housemaid for almost two years," was her reply. "How much did you make?" "Twelve dollars a week up in Iowa where I came from."

I let the girl talk. Once in a while I put in a word to draw her out because I wanted to know more about her. Finally I said to her, "You came to me for help and I am

going to be perfectly honest with you. I think you would make a wonderful housemaid but a poor office girl." "What would you advise me to do?" she asked. "Go back to your housework," was my reply.

I had no sooner made the suggestion when a call came in for a housemaid. The girl took it, starting in at twelve dollars a week. She is making fifteen dollars now. She always comes to the office on her day off. She told me, not long ago, how glad she was that she followed my advice. The person who advised this girl to leave the work which she was fitted for and liked, to go into an office, overlooked the fact that she was a typical Swedish housemaid and could never have gotten into an office, and would probably have been on the street today.

We have, of course, the type who does not take advice. A young girl came to the employment secretary with the idea that she must get an office position where she could "develop her personality." She had been so advised by her teacher. She was undernourished and of inferior intelligence; a flapperish type with a colorless personality. She could not get into an office because no one would take her.

The secretary after talking to her came to me with the problem. I had the girl brought to me. I could not persuade her to change her mind. The girl is still out of work. She has not the mentality to hold the kind of job she aspires to. If she had entered a store as a salesgirl when she left school, she would, in all probability, have been working there today and have been happy. Please do not misunderstand me in this. We need bright girls in our stores, but a girl who needs direction, who needs to be told every move she must make, can work in a store under supervision with a fair chance at success.

We social workers are like surgeons. If a surgeon makes a mistake, his patient may die. If we social workers make a mistake, we may have morally killed our girl. It is necessary that we ascertain the fitness of the girl before we

place her; that we supply her with means to live if she is in need; that we place her in a temporary position if she has no other way to get along. When, however, we make a plan for her future, we must be sure that we have studied her well and know her personality, her character, her education, her reputation, her family environment, her general health and mental ability, her likes and dislikes, in fact, all the things we can find out which will help us to understand the girl.

While we are making this investigation, we have a chance to win the girl's confidence and friendship. It is seldom that a girl doesn't sooner or later respond to friendly advances.

We have not finished with the girl when a job is found. We must teach her what the job really means. This teaching may take one year or it may take two. I have girls who have been coming in and out of my office for the past eighteen years. Some of them have married. They are happy in their homes, but they come back for help with their problems.

Girls are hungry for success. They are seeking for happiness and a chance to improve. Let us study each girl and give her the help she needs.

The Use of an Advisory Group In Court Work With Girls

Mrs. Lillian McDermott

Referee of the Juvenile Court, Little Rock, Arkansas

After nine years of service with a juvenile court which serves a county, and a city with a population of one hundred and forty thousand, I am convinced that it will be a long time before funds are available from public sources to pay the salaries of trained workers in sufficient numbers to man adequately both city and county work.

No juvenile court worthy of the name is content to occupy an uncertain position in the field of social work. One of the major objectives of every court is to become a real social case working agency. This is obviously impossible with the inadequate appropriations of the average juvenile court of the small city and rural community. We must look elsewhere for material with which to develop our programs.

We have been much interested in the use of volunteers in other fields of social work. Their success warrants the belief that they would be equally effective in connection with juvenile courts. For want of a better name, and for the purpose of discussion, we shall term these volunteers an advisory committee. The success of the effort will depend entirely on the personnel of the committee. Its members must have infinitely more than a desire to serve. They must, first of all, have social imagination; they must be alert to reach out and touch in a quickening way those who are near at hand whether rich or poor; they must be recruited from women who have learned for themselves what makes

life worth while; they must be able to understand the behavior of boys and girls, of men and women; they must have leisure to devote to the work assigned them; they must have social standing; they must be dependable, accurate, flexible; they must have seasoned judgment and the ability to gain and keep confidence; they must have the capacity for the things that are honest and worth while. We must admit that all of the above characteristics are not apt to be possessed by the average individual, but it is just as reasonable to suppose that they may be found in the volunteer as in the paid worker. Personality, sympathy and judgment are not monopolized by any one section of society. Every community has many members who possess these attributes. Their discovery depends upon the ability of the court's executive to find them, interest them and train them.

Size of Committee

The committee should consist of ten or fifteen members who will agree to do with regularity, the tasks assigned by a central office. In the beginning they should be treated as students. They must study to acquire an idea of social work in general and of the juvenile court in particular. It would be stimulating to read with them the biographies of the men and women who founded social work. Dr. Herbert H. Lou's book entitled "Juvenile Courts in the United States" will help them in understanding the purpose, the procedure and the ethics of juvenile courts. At least three or four weeks should be devoted to intensive training of the committee before they undertake any work.

Resources of the Community

The resources of the community will first claim the attention of the committee members. They become at once aware of the fact that a part of their work is to develop resources. They find in our city that the organization of character-building agencies for girls has been sidetracked

in the interest of boys. Any city that has no girl's clubs, no Camp Fire activities, no Friendly Shelter, no maternity homes, offers an opportunity as well as a challenge to such an advisory committee. Through contacts with other groups, such as Parent Teacher Associations, women's clubs and women's church organizations, the committee interprets the work of the juvenile court to the community thereby arousing interest, understanding and enthusiasm.

There are many individuals and groups eager and willing to do a specific piece of work, who do not know how to get in contact with those who need service. For example; last year our court had eight girls in school on scholarships provided by friends of the juvenile court through the efforts of the referee. A wide-awake committee could have secured many times this number of scholarships because of wider contacts and the greater amount of time.

Finding employment for a girl is often a difficult matter for a probation officer. This opens another avenue of service to the advisory committee. The average employer listens more readily to requests from committee members than from a court employee. It is desirable that a girl's religious, social and recreational contacts be made by some one other than a recognized paid worker of the court. In Arkansas the law provides that the juvenile courts act as attendance officers for the rural public schools. Through the use of volunteers we were able to increase the attendance in the rural schools 11.8 per cent last year. In many of the families actual case work was done.

One of the handicaps of effective rural work is insufficient transportation. An advisory group could eliminate this difficulty by recruiting from the younger women a motor corps, each member of which pledges herself to one half day's service a week. We know this is a practical plan as we have put it in practice on a small scale.

The new attitude toward the unmarried mother and her child creates for us a case work problem with many solu-

tions. Some of these solutions may be successfully handled by an advisory committee.

Other Ways of Aiding

In securing social legislation, the committee may assume an important place. Because of its contacts with actual cases, it can present convincing reason for the enactment of general social welfare measures. It can be particularly helpful in securing the passage of local ordinances in investigating, licensing, and providing supervision for boarding homes for children, and for maternity homes.

Another distinct contribution which an advisory committee can make to a juvenile court is to bring to the work the fresh point of view of its members whose major interests are elsewhere, thus helping to keep plans sound and practical.

The understaffed juvenile court of limited finances which serves a large rural area, gains much in value through the organization of an advisory committee. The following case will illustrate what can be done through volunteer service. Susan, an attractive child of twelve with her feeble-minded mother, was picked up by a friendly motorist and brought to the juvenile court. The mother was running away from a nearby town to escape testifying against a disabled soldier with whom she had been living, and who had attempted sexual relations with Susan. Susan's father was a coal miner in another state, and had been separated from the family for several years. Susan had been subjected to many indignities and privations during this time as her mother was totally unfit to care for her. Susan was removed from the mother by court order and placed in a boarding home. The father agreed to pay her board. The mother soon faded out of the picture. Shortly after this the father died. Every effort was made to place Susan among her own people but there were none who felt they could take her. Susan was normal mentally, and in good physical condition. She re-

sponded at once to her new environment. She was placed under the supervision of a friendly visitor who has worked out a plan of treatment. Susan has a good voice and arrangements have been made to have her take lessons with one of our best teachers. When she graduates from high school this year she will enter a laboratory and train to become a technician. This case covers a period of six years, and is a demonstration of volunteer case work.

The goal of the professional and the volunteer are the same—to serve those in need of help. We must, therefore, form a closer partnership and learn how to work together. We can develop our highest potentialities through a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation.

DISCUSSION

ROSALIE SUPPLEE (Westchester County Children's Association, White Plains, N. Y.): I am interested in the use of volunteers. I should like to ask how much training is given them, who supervises them and if they are permitted to do actual case work?

MRS. LILLIAN P. McDERMOTT (Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Little Rock, Ark.): The volunteers we have used, as I said in my paper, have been tried out in only a limited way. Before any definite piece of work is assigned them, they are given some training, such as sitting in during case conferences, accompanying a trained worker in the field, and reading books recommended by the officer.

GRACE STROBRIDGE (Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Pine Bluff, Ark.): I am interested in volunteer probation work. I should like to hear it discussed more. I have tried it and found it had some snags. I am wondering how much we should tell the volunteer probation officer about the history of a case. Take for instance the girl who is a sex offender. I remember a case I had about a year ago. Two girls in a rural community had been very flagrant sex offenders. I asked women in the community who I thought might serve in a volunteer capacity, to take these girls to Sunday school. They were afraid to do it. They thought it would ruin the Sunday school because the community knew about these girls. This is the attitude of the average person toward the girl sex offender.

I wonder also how you keep the volunteer workers interested in their work. They will work for a few months and then become tired. In the particular case which Mrs. McDermott has mentioned as running for six years, I wonder how many workers she had on it and if only one person was assigned to work with this particular girl.

MRS. McDERMOTT: Only one woman was assigned to work with the girl. Unless you know your volunteer worker very well, it would be unwise to give her a delinquent girl. In our work fully fifty per cent of our girls come to us because they are unadjusted in their homes and not really delin-

quent. I do not think it advisable to let a raw volunteer work with a girl who is a sex delinquent because her attitude would probably be unfavorable to the girl.

In answer to your question, have you a board appointed by your county judge? Yes. Have you changed your board very often since its appointment? No. If you have the right kind of board and can interest them, which is part of your job, you can make the plan work. You can get out of your board exactly what you demand from them. If you let them hold office only, you will get that kind of result. If you give them certain responsibilities, minor responsibilities in the beginning, you can train them to do a piece of case work for you. I am telling you how I have worked out some difficult problems in a court limited in personnel and finance.

I think that most churches have what they know as a social service department. From this group you can draw women who take an intelligent interest in social service. I think, too, that their attitude toward girls is becoming very much changed, just as our attitude toward certain social problems has changed in the last decade.

The executive may little by little, step by step, get them to see things from a social point of view, and so render a worthwhile service. Great discrimination should be used in choosing your committee.

BEULAH WOOD FITE (Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Memphis, Tenn.): Mrs. Ferguson and Miss Strobbridge are up against a different proposition from those of us who work in the city. I have worked in a small country town and in Memphis. In a small town everybody knows everybody else. You work with the people who are close to you. You have contacts that you do not have in the city. I have found it much easier in Memphis to get people to help me with girls than it is in a small town where everybody knows the grandmother and the father of everybody else. A sex offender in a rural place is longer remembered. In the city it is possible to move a girl from one school to another. You can't do this in small places.

In the Memphis juvenile court we couldn't get along without volunteers. We use them for everything except our worst delinquents. I wouldn't put a thoroughly delinquent girl under any one. I think the court ought to keep her until she reaches the place where she is making good. If you had a very sick person in your own family, you would get a trained nurse until she was convalescent and then you would have a neighbor come in and stay. I would treat a delinquent girl in the same manner.

Volunteers create sentiment for us. If we want a child educated, we tell our volunteers and they get in touch with church committees who provide the means. We get everything through our volunteers. We have from three hundred to five hundred volunteers. They do all sorts of things for our court. All the garments worn by the children of our court in two years have been made by volunteers. They come once a week and darn. They do a great deal of personal work for the children who need it. They keep track of them. When the children leave the court's jurisdiction, the workers come back and say, "Where did Johnny or Jimmie go? We want to see that they have the proper clothes and are happy."

HON. MARY M. BARTELME (Judge, Juvenile Court, Chicago, Ill.): I have been very much interested in the discussion on volunteer workers. We

have them in Chicago and some are doing very good work. They have organized into various groups. One is called the Friendly Big Sisters. It cares for many of our colored girls and cooperates with the officers of the court. There is also an organization of Catholic women called Big Sisters. This organization for years has paid the tuition of twenty-five homeless girls, whose parents had either died or were unfit or incapacitated so that they could not care for them. These girls are sent by the organization to private Catholic schools, instead of institutions for dependent children.

MRS. DUMMER: May I ask you a question? Do you use the term "delinquent girl" with these groups of volunteers?

JUDGE BARTELME: We speak of the girls to the volunteer herself as problem children. They are not always delinquent girls. The volunteers work in cooperation with the juvenile probation officer. They work in the girls' department until the girl is dismissed from our court or released. There is the service council of juvenile court girls which I feel is doing very excellent work with Protestant and Jewish girls. All volunteer workers do not do the sort of work we should like to have them do, but on the other hand we do not always do the sort of work we should like to do, either.

MARY E. McCHRISTIE (Referee, Girls' Division, Court of Domestic Relations, Cincinnati, Ohio.): I should like to recommend that the Committee on Girls remain active during the coming year and take under its consideration some of the vital things we wish discussed at our next conference.

What Is Success and What Is Failure?

Mary E. McChristie

Referee, Court of Domestic Relations, Cincinnati, Ohio

What is success and what is failure? Close your eyes and visualize all the sweet girl graduates. Use your olfactory organ and smell the roses they are carrying. Then listen imaginatively to their analyses of success and failure. They are at the age where they know everything. After ten years of work with the unadjusted, we know less and talk less of the qualities that constitute success, and the cases classified as failures.

Very glibly probation officers everywhere recite this chant: "Oh, she's a failure." "Her case was a great success." They make these statements as a result of their own ideals and standards. They often fail to realize that from their viewpoint a case may be a glaring failure—a "flop" as my girls say, but judged from the standards of the girl herself, her family, her educational background and inheritance, the case is outstanding in its constructive qualities.

The Boy's Story

I have in mind a boy whose record was classified as a failure. He forged a check on his "Big Brother" for \$125. The boy was thirteen years old with a reputation for generosity. When funds ran low he forged a check—a procedure popular with men of maturer intelligence. His case was heard by a substitute judge who immediately said: "Miss McChristie, this boy must go to Lancaster," (Boys' Industrial School). We begged for a chance in a different environment, for we had found after a psychometric test that the boy was of high intelligence and that also during

his adolescence he had discovered his mother in a very compromising position with a man in the neighborhood, and that his father was syphilitic and a drunkard. We placed him in the country with a brother and sister who were religiously inclined and for a few weeks his recreation was throwing a pitchfork at the cow and viciously maiming the stock. He registered cruelty, viciousness and stubbornness. His temporary guardians were very fond of him. Both yearned to have a child in their home upon whom they could lavish affection. After each distressing incident they begged that he be given another chance.

A little later our boy began to walk across the fields and woods to school. He forgot his alley and God began to supervise his case. His attitude, indefinably but subtly and quietly began to change. Six months after his placement he took me up to the crest of one of the hills on the farm and said: "You know when I look down on this valley I get a lump in my throat and I can't swallow." God's beautiful out-of-doors had begun our probation work.

Later this couple moved to a small city, and our boy was asked to act as treasurer of the penny lunch fund of his school. He telephoned me, long distance, and quite enthusiastically asked if he might assume this responsibility. "Isn't it wonderful they believe in me and I am to take charge of the money? Do you think I can do it?" With a slight sinking of the heart, because I still recalled his forged check, I encouraged him to assume the responsibility of this position, and for over a year he handled the hundred dollars a day without the discrepancy of a penny.

When he was eighteen he asked to withdraw from our supervision. We understood that he was rather tired of our constant suggestions, and we were careful to treat him with the dignity which we felt his years demanded. In the meantime he became restless and went to see his father in another city. He suddenly telegraphed us that he had joined the marines. Two months after his departure he wrote me

a most disgusting, obscene letter blaming me for his condition of naivete, and deploring the fact that I had tried to keep him from the pleasures incident to associations with lewd women. Because of our apparent idealism he felt that he had been denied many sexual pleasures, and he assured me in a spirit of bravado, "that he was going to live with a married woman for a week," and he defied me to do anything about it. The letter, in its suggestiveness and vulgarity, was sickening. We were desperately discouraged.

In what way had we failed to change the spirit and the attitude of this boy? Outwardly, he was a conformer. He had done nothing in these five years to precipitate him into court. Inwardly, however, there had been no change. Did we fail in that we made certain pleasures prohibitive? Should we have given him more contact with social hygiene instructors during those formative years? In his letter he said: "I know you will think I am a rat, and that is what I believe I am, but this is the way I feel about it and I don't want anything more to do with any probation officers or any juvenile court, and I'm going on my own, I'll never forgive you for denying me these pleasures as long as you have. From now on I'm going to be a man."

When we analyzed our case we tried to visualize this boy had the sentence to Lancaster been made effective. With delinquent tendencies, bad inheritance from both father and mother, normal mentality, and a trend toward vulgarity and self expression, what would have happened had he been incarcerated for a few years? As it was he was honorably discharged from the marines, finished his business course, and was able to earn his own living, and is apparently conforming to society in the community. Was this case a success or failure? We succeeded outwardly, apparently, but in what way did we fail to instil into that boy, during his adolescent years, self-control and a respect for women? Personally, I feel that we failed lamentably in the real, vital, beautiful things that make life worthwhile.

The Girl's Story

I have time for another case of a girl with whom we struggled for months in our effort to make her conform to the demands made upon her by school, home and community. She met a boy with whom she fell in love very desperately and had a child as a result of their companionship. According to our standards this was an irregularity of conduct. From the time of her child's coming the sex instinct, which had been extremely strong, was redirected into safer channels. She developed into a most excellent mother. The baby whom she brought into the world did the probation work we had failed to do. Anything so beautiful as the creation of a child, to my mind, never can be classed as a criminal act. An unmarried mother constitutes a distinct social problem which calls for extremes of sympathy and understanding. Measured by the standards of success and failure, our girl was incorrigible and uncontrollable until she broke the social law. The moment her baby was placed in her arms she became a saner, more wholesome, more dependable girl. She refused to go out with any of the men who had attracted her before. She developed a certain fineness of spirit and attitude. Her behavior was regular and decent. She devoted herself to the child. In all of our experience we have never known a better mother. Now, is she a success or is she a failure? By an irregular act, classified under the list of failures, she has developed in herself decency, self-reliance, and other spiritual values that are precious. We have watched this miracle of a girl, slovenly in thought and action, with a weakness for men, being revitalized by the birth of a child into a new person who willingly follows an accepted code of conduct and behavior.

Now, if you and I were in our offices, classifying cases rather superficially, as we often do, under what heading would my boy and my girl be listed? Mentality, home standards, educational background, past experience, a knowledge

of God—all these and many other like qualities enter into the making of cases as successes or failures.

DISCUSSION

MRS. W. F. DUMMER (Chicago, Ill.): My study of mental hygiene, my reading of psychiatry, my experience in the hearing of many cases of children and adolescents who are unadjusted and in trouble, all make me feel that the sympathetic nervous system is a very delicate apparatus. To fix in it any sense of sin or fear may result very tragically, and quite possibly in further delinquency, which may even become almost an unconscious reflex action, resulting possibly in confinement in a sanitarium later in life.

It interests me exceedingly that the Episcopal church social service group is discussing some time this week at one of their meetings, "What is the meaning of sin?"

Dr. Hill is permitting the chaplain in the State Hospital at Worcester, Massachusetts to bring to the institution as volunteer attendants or workers, theological students, in order that they may see the end results of human conflict and by going into the clinics and hearing the staff discussions of the doctors, learn how these tragic results might have been prevented had they been treated correctly at an earlier period. This is done in order that the students as clergymen may know how to respond scientifically to the needs of their parishioners.

A woman said a few years ago; "it is singular that it has taken us 2,000 years to realize what Jesus said, 'Neither do I condemn thee'." A rather strict church person responded, "I don't know what you mean by that. I don't see how you can help condemning when a person has sinned." Well, if there is any condemnation on the part of any one working with an unadjusted child or adult, there is very little chance for that individual to help the person in making an adjustment.

This brings us to something that was said yesterday afternoon in the meeting. Our attention was called to the fact that sexual experience on the part of a boy was considered as little more significant than a sore finger. Are we right then in making it such a crime for a girl? This is something we must all consider. Dr. Healy told me a good many years ago, in the beginning of his study of juvenile court children, that a girl who had had a physical sexual experience was often more easily adjusted later than a girl who had not had such sexual experience but whose mind was filled with the idea.

Those of us who are interested in the future of women, unmarried mothers, married mothers, must take very seriously into our minds the interpretation that science gives us. Think about these cases when they come to you. We must learn more "how to do" and "how to treat." We must experiment until we develop fine therapeutic methods; we must exchange cases. Miss Mc-Christie suggests that cases be sent to our committee and then sent around with comments to the various members of this group. This might help us all very much.

CLAIRE M. SANDERS (Chief, Girls' Department, Wayne Co. Juvenile Court, Detroit, Michigan): In our work with girls, we have sought to shift

the emphasis in case work, from case to work. The assistance given us by the women's division of the police, has helped us greatly. Since the organization of this department, we have been able to relieve the court of all work which is not definitely court work. Practically all of our complaints are filed by the women's division of the police and they are not filed unless there is real need for court work.

This division serves two purposes: First, it relieves the child of a court record unless it is an essential thing that she have the assistance of the court. This is valuable because in spite of my efforts I have not been able to remove all of the opprobrium that attaches itself to a court record. Secondly, it gives us a small enough case load so that our workers are able to work with the girls instead of just handling cases.

In making a study of our failures three years ago we took up the cases of girls who had been released from probation for three years. This study showed several things. First, that failures were due to failures in investigation, inadequate investigations, and plans based upon poor diagnoses as a result of the inadequacy of the investigation. Second, the study showed the disastrous effect of a lapse of time between the date the child was placed on probation and the time when the officer went to work on the case. Third, failure was due to the amount of reporting. There was neither enough home-work nor work outside the court.

We have reduced the reporting to a minimum. The child after she is placed on probation is not brought back to the court until she has had a failure or repeated failures. The probation officer supervises her in the home, the school and the community.

We are working on this study again after a lapse of five years. We expect to make a study not only of the cases which we know were failures but of every girl who was released from probation during the years 1921, 1922 and 1923. The Community Union has given us the assistance of its research bureau. We have funds enough of our own to pay a probation officer who has been on the staff since 1921 to look up every one of the girls who have been released. We hope eventually to be able to get a comprehensive view of our probation work.

I desire to speak, also of our method of dealing with the sex delinquent. We lay very little emphasis on sex delinquency. In taking the testimony in the courtroom, we get just enough to determine the nature of the delinquency so that the child may be placed on probation. The probation officer in making her investigation secures enough information to determine what the contributing factors are, and what the child's mental attitude toward the circumstance is. This ends so far as our dealing with the child is concerned any suggestion that she is a sex delinquent. Our work is based on a readjustment of her relationship with her parents, her work, her recreation, and the community. If she has in any way an abnormal attitude toward sex, she is referred to the psychopathic clinic. All of the work with the sex problem is done through the clinic, either directly or by the probation officer who works under the direction of the psychologist. It is altogether too delicate a matter, we feel, for a probation officer who is untrained in sex psychology to deal with. We feel also that it is far better to ignore it and work towards building the girl's character, or safeguarding her in her recreation and her work,

than it is to make any effort toward sex adjustment other than through a trained psychologist.

ELEANORE HUTZEL (First Vice President, International Association of Policewomen, Washington, D. C.): I can't resist taking advantage of this opportunity to speak to a group of probation officers and police women in regard to the difficulties which arise in the effort of our groups to work together. In Detroit there are no personality difficulties. By education, training and experience, policewomen are much like probation officers. There is however an ever present difficulty arising which the chief probation officer and the director of the women's division have to face, because our approaches to problems are different.

The policewoman makes the first contact with a case. She finds when she is on patrol duty, a woman who has made a prostitute of a young girl. There is a history of this woman's having been involved with other girls. The officer deals with this girl as a witness in preparing the case for court, and then the case comes before the judge. I then say to my police officer, "Now you are through. What the judge does is the responsibility of the court. If he refers this woman to the probation department and the probation department, fulfilling its function of looking after the interests of the individual, sees something which you have not seen, it is no responsibility of yours. Your responsibility ended when you presented the case in court." My officers say, "We do this, Miss Hutzel, because you say we must, but inside we can't stop feeling."

In dealing with the juvenile court, the same situation arises. Perhaps we know a girl as a witness, we work with her when we are preparing the case, we file a complaint in juvenile court charging her with delinquency. The case comes before the court. My officer must accept whatever the court sees fit to do with the girl. Sometimes the officer does not agree with the decision of the court. This is difficult.

I can't see that there is any way for us to overcome these difficulties except by working together on our mutual problems. We need policewomen just as much as we need probation officers. We can help the probation officers very much. The probation officers can help us. The highest degree of efficiency comes through understanding.

MRS. KATHLEEN J. LOWRIE (Director, Women's Division, Recorder's Court, Detroit, Michigan): There are many possibilities for cooperation between the police department and the court which are as yet unexplored. It is part of our job to strengthen the police department whose business it is to bring individuals into the court, and to present reasons for their selection. It is part of the police department's job to strengthen the treatment agency. It is the court's duty to secure a careful social history so that the judge may prescribe treatment on the basis of individual findings. Detroit is going to be a very interesting place in which to work out this relationship. We in the probation department have respect for the work which is being done in the police department. I think one thing which will help us to work out our problems is the common realization that we are not working in the interest of the defendant and to the detriment of the community; when we do the intelligent thing for the individual we do the intelligent thing for the community.

Are we as social workers forgetting the adult group? Are we beginning to feel that the girls who come to our court present different diagnostic and treatment problems from those eligible for the family court? The person working with the girl or woman whose "upsetting circumstance" occurred "after" rather than "before" her seventeenth birthday, faces the same problem as the worker with the younger delinquent. There is the same need for intelligent diagnosis and treatment as soon after the maladjustment occurs as possible. Increased help from social workers will hasten the time when public opinion will appreciate the intelligence of this plan for the treatment of adult offenders.

MRS. W. F. DUMMER: To those interested in the unadjusted girl, I should like to suggest a few books: First, Dr. William Healy's "Mental Conflict and Misconduct," then, Kammerer's study, "The Unmarried Mother," with a foreword by Dr. Healy. In this book, Dr. Healy questions whether such a constructive act as bringing a child into the world should ever be classed as a crime. I think this thought of Dr. Healy has changed our attitude somewhat.

JESSIE F. BINFORD (Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago, Ill.): When we feel that we have failed in adjusting a boy or a girl we are rather inclined to go back and think that the boy had trends toward vulgarity which we didn't discover, and perhaps we should have done this or that—perhaps we should have sent him to Lancaster or have taken other measures. I think probably the truth is that the boy didn't have any trends toward vulgarity until he got into the navy, and found certain modes of behavior and conduct. He was simply overwhelmed by things and reacted as so many boys do.

When we fail I believe we are inclined to think that we should have recognized the worst tendencies which came out later. Miss Milliken stated that there are about 65,000 girls reported missing in this country each year. The cases we handle do not indicate in any measure the number of unadjusted young people that there are today. The pity of it is that in communities, even in these communities in which we work, there are many boys and girls who drift around, perfectly aware that they are not adjusted and wanting help.

A little girl came to us from Iron Mountain, Michigan. She was found in the Northwestern station. Not knowing what else to say, she said she was a cousin of Jane Addams. They brought her to Hull House. She then told a long story of having been brought down to Chicago to a red light district. We found that up in that northern country the previous summer, a young man had been selling a book dealing with the evils of the red light district. The child had concocted her entire story from this material.

Just the other day we had a telephone call from the Eleanor Club in Chicago concerning a girl who had arrived there that morning and had told a long story which wasn't true. A young man from Oak Park who had been on an automobile trip up in the little Michigan town had brought this girl to Chicago. She was only sixteen years old. She was unadjusted to her home and her school. When she met this young man on the street she told him a pathetic story of mistreatment and he, in real pity and friendliness, had carried her away from what he considered, bad conditions.

I had a telegram, recently, saying that Margaret, a sixteen year old girl, would arrive by bus at six o'clock in the morning with her mother's consent to marry a young man in Chicago. When we finally got in touch with the man at one o'clock that night he was the most surprised person in the world to find that this girl was coming to marry him. The girl had made up the story just to get away from home.

I think in all of our communities today it isn't merely a question of the unadjustment of the young people whom we get in our agencies and courts. It is the unadjustment of the many in the community for whom we are able to do so little that offers the more challenging problem and one which we are not meeting to the extent and in the manner we should.

CASE HISTORIES

There follow seven histories or studies of actual cases of offenders against the law who were placed on probation. Three are from the adult criminal court; four are juvenile court cases. All are from authentic records of probation officers, each from a different court in which well equipped probation work is carried on. They were presented at the Probation Conference in all but two instances by the officer who treated the cases. They are here reproduced as offering original data for case conferences and discussions, and as presenting illustrative material for workers in the field, for students and others who desire information on the purposes, methods and results of probation practice.

A Study in Probation Diagnosis and Treatment Record No. 2266

George Wood

*Court of General Sessions, New York City;
Edwin J. Cooley, Chief Probation Officer*

Table of Contents

PART

I.—Order of Investigation

II.—Preliminary Investigation

- A. Legal History
- B. Analysis of Environment
- C. Analysis of Personality
- D. Synopsis

III.—Case History

- A. Early Contacts
- B. Case Analysis
 - 1. Problem
 - 2. Casual Factors
 - 3. Plan of Treatment

- C. Progress of Treatment
- D. Mental and Physical Examination
 - 1. Physical
 - 2. Psychological
 - 3. Psychiatric
 - 4. Comment
- E. Progress of Treatment (Continued)
- F. Case Analysis (Modification)
 - 1. Problem
 - 2. Casual Factors
 - 3. Plan of Treatment
- G. Progress of Treatment (Continued)
- H. Psycho-Analytical Examination
 - 1. Mental Ability
 - 2. Mechanical Aptitude
 - 3. Introversion and Extroversion Test
 - 4. Emotional Status
 - 5. Sexual Experiences
 - 6. Recommendations
- I. Progress of Treatment (Continued)
- J. Case Analysis (Modification)
 - 1. Problem
 - 2. Casual Factors
 - 3. Plan of Treatment
- K. Progress of Treatment (Continued)
- L. Case Analysis (Modification)
 - 1. Problem
 - 2. Casual Factors
 - 3. Plan of Treatment
- M. Progress of Treatment (Continued)

IV.—Final Review by the Court

Discharge from Probation

- A. Legal History
- B. Probation History
- C. Prognosis
- D. Recommendation

V.—Termination of Probation

PART I

Order of Investigation Court of General Sessions County of New York

Edwin J. Cooley,
Chief Probation Officer:—

Part 4
Ind. No. 163940

GEORGE WOOD* _____ having been convicted of
PETIT LARCENY _____ before Hon. JAMES
R. BLANK _____ is this day assigned to the Probation
Department for investigation prior to sentence on
March 8, 1926.

The probation officer shall fully investigate and report to the court in writing in accordance with the provisions of Sec. 931 of the Code of Criminal Procedure† on the circumstances of the offense, criminal record and social history of the defendant, and on such other matters as are specified below or as may at any time be required by the court or the judge thereof.

The probation officer shall make a social study and investigation of all matters pertaining to the offense and the social history of the offender.

Dated this _____ first
day of _____ March 1926

CHARLES E. HANSON
Deputy Clerk of Court.

(Field Sheet omitted for purposes of brevity)

Code of Criminal Procedure

"Sec. 931. Investigation. Probation officers when directed

* Statements concerning localities, names, dates, nationalities, and facts of family history as given, in the usual professional fashion, are reported with disguises.

† Rf. Sec. 931, C. C. P.

by the court shall fully investigate and report to the court in writing on the circumstances of the offense, criminal record and social history of a defendant. Whenever desirable and facilities exist therefore they shall also obtain a physical, mental and psychiatric examination of such defendant. Such investigations and reports shall be made promptly. The court shall have such information before it prior to sentence."

PART II

Preliminary Investigation

Indictment No. 163940		Date Filed Feb. 26, 1926		Investigated by E. C. C.		Case No. 2266
Defendant WOOD, GEORGE		Aliases None		Codefendants None		
Offense Petit Larceny	Plea Guilty	Indicted for Grand Larceny, 2d Degree	Date of Pleading March 1, 1926	Date of Sentence March 8, 1926		
Judge Hon. James R. Blank			Disposition Probation One Year—Restitution \$190			

A. Legal History

Previous Court Record

Date	Offense	Court	Disposition
March 14, 1926	Disorderly Conduct (Gambling)	Magistrates	Fined \$2

Abstract of Indictment

On Feb. 18, 1926, the defendant stole the sum of \$190 in currency from the apartment of Horace Albright, 367 Jefferson Street.

Offense

COMPLAINANT. Horace Albright, who resides at the above address, is the complainant. He states that on the aforementioned date he discovered that the sum of \$190 had been stolen from a clock in which he and his wife kept their savings. Suspicion attached itself to the defendant who occupied a furnished room in the apartment. When confronted by the complainant he admitted that for a period of three months he had been taking money from Albright's hiding place, the existence of which he had become aware of when he saw the complainant's wife put some currency there.

The Police of the 5th Precinct were notified and on

February 22, 1926, Detective John Allen of the 5th Squad placed the defendant under arrest in the apartment where he lived.

MITIGATING AND AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES. The series of thefts culminating in Wood's arrest,

represented a betrayal of confidence reposed in him by the complainant, the more inexplicable in view of the kindness and consideration extended by Mr. Albright. Notwithstanding this offense, Mr. Albright is willing to take Wood again into his home.

ATTITUDE OF COMPLAINANT. The complainant desires that clemency be exercised in this instance, provided the defendant is willing to make restitution.

B. Analysis of Environment

PERSONAL HISTORY. The defendant is 18 years of age. He was born in this city and has lived here all his life. He is single.

EDUCATION AND EARLY LIFE. The defendant, who was left an orphan at the age of 7, was subsequently placed in the Tottenville Orphanage where he remained until he was 16 years old. He completed the 8B Grade, and subsequently obtained some training in the plumber's trade. His scholastic and conduct records were excellent.

FAMILY AND NEIGHBORHOOD. The defendant is the third in sequence in a family of six children, five of whom are living. His parents were honest, respectable individuals. His early life was marked by the depressing influence of poverty and incurable sickness in the home.

After the parents' death from tuberculosis, the defendant and his brothers and sisters were committed to various

orphanages, because none of their relatives were financially able or willing to care for them. After spending nine years as an inmate of the orphanage, in February of 1924, Wood took up his residence with his aunt, Mary Wood of 287 Antwerp Avenue. This woman is a coarse, unsympathetic person and her treatment of the defendant was marked by ruthless discipline on the one hand and neglect and indifference on the other. He lived with her for a period of a year and a half and regularly contributed \$9 a week for his room and maintenance. The friction between the defendant and his aunt ultimately resulted in his leaving her home and going to live in a furnished room in the apartment of the complainant herein.

For some time his conduct in the complainant's home was exemplary but coincident with his first theft he began to draw away from the family life and to keep late hours. Mr. Albright, who is unable to explain the defendant's delinquency, avers that Wood was always a quiet, well-mannered youth, and was given complete freedom in his movements. For his room and board he paid \$10 per week.

INDUSTRIAL HISTORY. The defendant has been in custody since February 22, 1926. Although he has worked steadily, his employment record is not altogether satisfactory. His last employer, Mr. Reid of the Murdock Express Company, 232 West 25th Street, for whom he worked as truck helper from August of 1925 until the date of his arrest at a salary of \$16 per week, has upon two occasions suspected him of the theft of bolts of silk valued at \$1,000, which were lost or stolen from the truck on which he worked. No tangible evidence has been adduced involving him as the perpetrator of these two alleged thefts. However, Mr. Reid, by reason of Wood's gambling propensities and apparent prosperity, inclines

toward the belief that the defendant may have stolen these goods.

Prior to his last engagement Wood worked as a cash boy for a year and one half at a wage of \$12 per week for the Gerstens Department Store on 14th St., near Fifth Avenue. His record in this position was very good.

In general the defendant's industrial history indicates that he is an industrious, capable and steady worker.

C. Analysis of Personality

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL. Dr. Leroy, the city prison psychiatrist, reports that Wood appears to be in good health, and of normal mentality.

CHARACTER AND CONDUCT. Wood is not inherently vicious, nevertheless his life for the six months preceding his arrest has shown a development of delinquent tendencies. While his manner is frank and straightforward he has acquired, as a result of his prolonged institutional discipline, a duplicity that had led him to resort to the employment of illicit means for securing his pleasure and amusement. Practically all the money which he stole was expended on shows, gambling and good clothes. Shortly after leaving his aunt's home he began to attend theatres and movies as often as possible.

The defendant also began to engage actively in gambling with dice. On one occasion he was arrested and fined \$2 in the Magistrate's Court for this offense. He also drank moderately. His sex life was normal and he was not known to the police in the neighborhood.

Wood admits that he began to steal because his income permitted only a minimum of entertainment which by no means satisfied his recently developed desires. His present attitude is one of repentance.

ETIOLOGY. An orphan at an early age, the defendant has never enjoyed the benefits of a healthy home environment and normal parental care. At the orphanage, for a period of nine years, he was deprived of fostering home influences and of incentives for developing qualities of initiative and affection. His experience at his aunt's home after leaving the orphanage at the age of 16, was a disheartening one and shortly thereafter, he was virtually compelled to shift for himself. Practically no restraint or guidance was exercised upon him and when the temptation to steal, engendered by his desire for amusement arose, he readily capitulated.

D. Synopsis

The defendant, 18 years old, was left an orphan at an early age and until he was 16, was an inmate of an orphanage. His record there was satisfactory.

At the age of 16 he went to live with his aunt, a domineering, unsympathetic woman, who subjected him to stern discipline on the one hand and neglect and indifference on the other. Ultimately he was obliged to shift for himself and about two months before he was arrested, he took up his residence with the complainant.

His employment record prior to the latter date was excellent, but in his last place of employment he was suspected of the theft of silk valued at \$1,000. No tangible evidence incriminating him was adduced and he continued to work there.

Latterly he has indulged in a desire for expensive amusement and he has become a devotee of the theatre, particularly of the musical comedy. In addition, he gambles excessively with dice. He drinks moderately.

The series of thefts culminating in this action represent a betrayal of the confidence imposed in him by the complainant, the more incomprehensible in view of the kindness bestowed upon him by Mr. Albright. However, the latter

desires that the defendant be permitted to make restitution, amounting to \$190 and in that event, Mr. Albright is willing to take him again into his home.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWIN J. COOLEY,

Chief Probation Officer,
Court of General Sessions.

Attest:

IRVING W. HALPERN,
Deputy Chief
Probation Officer.

PART III

Case History

A. Early Contacts

3-8-26 Following his plea of guilty to petit INITIAL INTERVIEW. larceny before Judge Blank, Wood was this day placed on probation for a period of one year. It was further ordered by the court that he make restitution in the sum of \$190 to the complainant, Horace Albright, of 367 Jefferson Street.

Wood is 18 years of age, a native of this city and unmarried. His offense consisted in the theft of \$190 in currency from one Horace Albright, with whom the probationer made his home. The probationer was third in sequence in a family of six children, five of whom are living. The father died when he was six years of age, and his mother the following year. After the death of his parents, the children were committed to various orphanages because none of their relatives were financially able or willing to keep them. The probationer was placed in the Totenville Orphanage, where he remained until he was sixteen years of age. Then leaving that institution he took up his residence with an aunt, one Mary Wood, of 387 Antwerp Avenue. He lived with her for a period of one and one-half years, but the increased tension and disagreement between them ultimately resulted in the probationer's leaving his aunt's home and taking quarters with Mr. Albright.

The probationer is at present unemployed, and investigation prior to sentence reveals that his employment record was not entirely satisfactory. He was thoroughly instructed in the requirements of his probation, and Monday night was assigned as the night of his weekly report. The imperative need for procuring employment at once was im-

pressed upon him as well as the obligation on his part to institute promptly regular and substantial restitutional payments as ordered by the court. The assistance of the probation officer in finding suitable employment was promised him, but he was instructed to accept whatever offered for the present, and to keep in constant contact with this department until he had secured a steady position.

This case was cleared through the Social Service Exchange by the investigating officer, and reports of contacts secured from the following agencies have been filed: Department of Public Welfare, Charity Organization Society, St. Vincent de Paul Society, Tottenville Orphanage, and Children's Court, Probation Department. JLH:KG

3-9-26

Probationer lives at the home of Mr. FIRST HOME VISIT. Horace Albright, the complainant in this case, as he did prior to the offense for which he is now on probation. A visit was made by the probation officer to the Albright home, which is a five-room apartment on the third floor of a five-story tenement house at 367 Jefferson Street, and for which a monthly rental of \$22 is paid.

The neighborhood is an old and somewhat deteriorated one in the waterfront district near Greenwich Village, and it affords few facilities for wholesome recreation. The Albright family include, besides the parents, four children, two of whom attend school, while the other two have not yet attained school age. The probationer occupies a furnished room by himself and eats at the family table. For these accommodations he pays \$10 per week.

Mrs. Albright was interviewed. She welcomed the visit of the probation officer and was informed by him of the aims and methods of probationary supervision, as applied to the case of Wood. She was persuaded to support the efforts of this department in effectively reconditioning the probationer's behavior and habits. She promised her full cooperation. She characterized Wood as a quiet and well-

mannered, but somewhat uncommunicative boy, and believes that he never freely expresses himself to people for fear of unsympathetic censorship. She admits being still at a loss to understand his recent delinquency. JLH:KG

3-10-26 Probationer reports that he has been ECONOMIC STATUS. looking about for employment but has as yet been unsuccessful in finding any.

He followed the want ads in the newspaper where helpers on trucks were called for, but in each case the position had been filled. He was admonished to start out early in the morning to look for work, and was assured that the employment counsellor of this department was continuing his efforts to place him. He is without funds and dependent on the Albrights for his maintenance. JLH:KG

3-12-26 He has had a conditional offer PROBATIONER REPORTED. of a position as helper on a truck for a butcher uptown.

This position, in which he would earn \$18 per week, is expected to be open next week, when the present incumbent will leave. Probation officer referred to a vacancy at the National Biscuit Company, Ninth Avenue and 16th Street, as a helper on night shift. He was instructed to call on Mr. Simmons, superintendent of delivery there, and to go to work if hired. In that event, his next report is to be made here a week from today. Otherwise he was ordered to report daily until employment should be found for him. On this occasion the matter of continuing his education, particularly along vocational lines, was touched upon by the probation officer, and the probationer indicated a willingness to accept guidance upon this subject. JLH:KG

B. Case Analysis

3-15-26 The probationer's attitude is sullen and suspicious. He has been deeply hurt by this experience and believes the hand of society is against him. He resents the restraint and moral oversight

1. PROBLEM.

of probation and submits to it with scarcely disguised reluctance. His social isolation is accentuated for him through his forfeiting the confidence of the people with whom he lives. He has no helpful friends and no understanding relatives to whom he may look for guidance and encouragement.

His inexperience in life, due to his long confinement in an orphanage, leaves him with undeveloped subjective standards of morality and exposes him to suggestions and temptations he is ill prepared to resist. He is poorly equipped for life on the economic plane, having received but an elementary schooling and no effective vocational training. He has, however, a normal endowment of intelligence and an inclination for mechanical activity.

His instinctive development has been thwarted by prohibitions and by the lack of opportunity for the exercise of normal initiative. Long years of external restraint, sometimes harsh, have engendered in him a keen resentment against authority—a resentment which is veiled by outward conformity and thus makes for duplicity.

His escape from the deprivations of poverty in childhood and too great moderation in adolescence created an intensified craving for novel experience and exciting pleasures, which he identified with the fullness of life. These, however, could not be satisfied out of his own meagre earnings.

He is self-conscious and diffident in the presence of strangers and blushes on the least provocation. He is uncommunicative and inclined to dissimulate towards those whose sincerity he distrusts, but frank and confiding toward those whom he has found to be "on the square."

2. CAUSAL FACTORS. His early childhood, passed under the incubus of poverty, disease and involuntary neglect, was followed by confinement during the entire period of puberty and adolescence in a large orphan asylum. There, again, he was deprived of the advantages

and privileges of a happy childhood and a normal home, and being a naturally sensitive youngster, his emotional development took an introverted direction.

Upon his release from the institution he came under the guardianship of an aunt, who not only made no effort to understand him, but who treated him with harshness and indifference. He escaped from this tyranny only to succumb to the pitfalls of unrestrained liberty and presently to find himself a prisoner of the law and a common criminal. The blow that has now fallen on him has bewildered and somewhat embittered him, as it seems to him too severe a penalty for a misdeed whose moral significance he had scarcely comprehended. For the time being, his hostility towards the agencies of the law attaches itself to the probation officer as such.

3. PLAN OF TREATMENT. Two main objectives must govern:

1. The probationer must be assisted to acquire the economic and educational means to a useful and satisfying life in the community, the lack of which has contributed in large measure to his delinquency.
2. His emotional life must be reconditioned by overcoming his suspicious and rebellious attitude towards law and order.

To realize these objectives, he should be properly subjected to a physical and mental examination, that will show his abilities and limitations, aptitudes and needs. On the basis of these findings, educational and vocational guidance should be afforded him and he should be stimulated to follow a course of vocational training in the direction in which his talents lie. Employment should be secured for him to enable him to earn the money with which to make regular payments on account of the restitution ordered by the court. It should, as far as possible, also be progressive employment, such as will give him an incentive to advancement.

In view of the probationer's sensitive make-up, discipline and supervision should not be so rigorous as to confirm his present antagonism, but sufficiently close to exercise a steadying influence upon him. In view of his recent tendency to dissipation and extravagance, the probationer should be taught the value and habit of thrift. He should be guided tactfully into new channels of recreation and amusement, such as will be within his means and at the same time conducive to his health and happiness. He should be brought in contact with personalities whom he can admire for their sincerity and whose friendship would establish in him a sense of security and worth. By convincing him that the probation officer is really his friend, to be trusted and consulted, the latter can do much to dispel Wood's diffidence and reticence, and to lead him by the force of his personality and example.

Finally, an effort should be made to bring together the scattered members of the family, and if possible, to re-establish the home, in order to build a stable foundation for Wood's future.

C. Progress of Treatment

3-19-26

Wood secured the position
EMPLOYMENT PLACEMENT. found for him by this department with the National Biscuit Company. He has been employed there since last Monday, March 14th, as a helper in the shipping department, and receives a wage of \$20 per week. His departmental superior is Mr. Simmons. His present assignment is a night job and his hours are from 9 P. M. to 7 A. M.

The probationer felt greatly encouraged at the improvement in his economic condition. He was admonished to give faithful service in this position in order to establish a favorable employment record. He was informed that the probation department requires that he submit himself to a

physical and mental examination, on the basis of which our plans are to be made for his supervision. He will be notified later of the day and the place of the examination.

JLH:KG

3-22-26

Interviewed Mrs. Albright at her HOME ENVIRONMENT. home. The younger children were at home and romping about the rooms, which are poorly furnished but tidy and cleanly kept. Mrs. Albright feels that the probationer has learned his lesson from the experience through which he has just passed, and she is confident that under the supervision of this probation officer he will turn aside from his waywardness and walk the straight path. She feels that she would like to do something towards making this a home for him—something that he has never really had. The probation officer heartily encouraged her in this purpose and pointed out to her the importance for Wood's rehabilitation, of creating in him the belief in other people, and the sense of belonging.

JLH:KG

3-23-26

An outline of the medical and social history of HEALTH. the probationer was prepared and forwarded to The New York Hospital, where an appointment has been secured for his examination on March 25th, at 2:30 P. M.

JLH:KG

3-24-26

The probation officer called at the EMPLOYMENT VISIT. National Biscuit Company plant and spoke to Mr. Simmons, who stated that Wood entered upon his work there with enthusiasm and was rapidly becoming competent to do it without direction. The probationer was seen by the probation officer, but was not interrupted at his work.

JLH:KG

3-24-26

Wrote Wood, reminding him of his appointment at The New York Hospital tomorrow afternoon.

JLH:KG

3-26-26

PROBATIONER REPORTED.

He is in good health and working satisfactorily at his night position. He attended the clinic as directed yesterday. He has been advised to return next week for the completion of the examination. He is unable to make a restitution payment as he has to pay a two weeks' board bill. He was instructed to report on Monday in order to make a payment at once.

JLH:KG

3-29-26

Probationer reported. Made his first payment of \$4.

JLH:KG

4-2-26

Wood made a payment of \$5 in restitution. He voluntarily

offered to increase the amount stipulated, as he is most anxious to discharge this debt. He is in good health and continues working steadily. He has given up his former associates and night work has been the means of keeping him off the streets at night. He states that he is fond of reading, and during his spare time he reads magazines and occasionally a book. He has undergone a further examination at the New York Hospital and expresses himself as pleased with the treatment accorded him there. He feels that he could have done better in the mental tests had he not been so sleepy at the time.

JLH:KG

4-9-26

Wood is employed as a checker in the delivery department at the National

Biscuit Company. He is working steadily and the physical and moral surroundings of his employment are satisfactory. The hours, however, are long and not as favorable to Wood's advancement as could be desired.

JLH:KG

4-10-26

Wood is unable to make a payment in restitution this week as he has had to buy a pair of shoes. However, he promised to resume payments next

week. He is still working steadily and reports conditions at home as satisfactory.

D. Mental and Physical Examination

4-12-26 Wood is 5 ft., 5 in. tall, weighs 132 lbs.

1. PHYSICAL. He is of slight, wiry build, apparently undernourished. He is somewhat limited in his physical makeup. The lower portion of the lobes of his ears are continuous with his cheeks. His chest is asymmetrical. His palate is high and narrow arched. While his chest is negative at present, in view of his tubercular heredity, he should be watched and have a chest examination about every six months.

2. PSYCHOLOGICAL. Wood appeared for the intelligence test with a bad cold and was extremely sleepy as he had worked all night. For these two reasons the evaluation of the test presents difficulties. Without any doubt he would have given a better performance in a normal condition. He was friendly and cooperative, though he could not help yawning and showed every evidence of sleepiness.

The Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon tests was used. It was established that Wood has an I.Q. of 90. His chronological age is 18 years, 4 months, and his mental age is 14 years and 6 months. Thus, he is in the normal average group. He seems to be alert mentally and emotionally. He showed no abnormal reactions during test. There was more definite fatiguability towards the end, probably due to his state of extreme sleepiness.

His performance in arithmetic reasoning was only fair. In clock test he showed very good constructive visual imagination. Generalization and reasoning, as shown in "president and king" and fables, fair. In repeating digits and syllables he made poor performance. Vocabulary and comprehension for his mental age were good.

3. PSYCHIATRIC. While of average intelligence, with an intelligence rating of 90+, Wood nevertheless is a somewhat limited individual in his emotional response and instinctive desires. He would like to advance but feels because he works nights it would not be possible to obtain further education, and does not seem inclined to continue formal schooling. While he performs simple precision tests well, he easily becomes embarrassed and tense. He can give no adequate reason for his offense. He is reticent and information is obtained only in response to questions. He does not seem to appreciate the seriousness of his conduct. He does not feel badly about it now that he is going to make restitution. He shows lack of judgment, is weak-willed and somewhat lacking in an appreciation of moral values. He denies any interest in the opposite sex. He displays some sense of humor.

4. COMMENT. He needs further guidance and should have further instruction in appreciation of moral values. A friend for whom he had respect and in whom he would place confidence would help. He is a constitutionally limited individual emotionally and physically, probably also instinctively, but not intellectually. It is recommended that the probation department induce him to place himself under a competent analyst for further study and treatment.

E. *Progress of Treatment* (Continued)

4-13-26 He has been reading Moby
PROBATIONER REPORTED. Dick. He is working steadily
and is in good health. He is
hopeful that his weekly wage of \$20 will be raised in about
two months. Conditions at home are satisfactory. The Al-
brights never reproach him or make him feel too ashamed
to remain with them, and he is appreciative and anxious
to do well.

SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT. Interviewed Mrs. Albright at home. She is more than pleased with Wood's response to probationary supervision. He is maintaining steady employment and regularly paying \$10 a week for room and board. Speaking on behalf of Mr. Albright, she expresses complete satisfaction with the probationer's efforts to pay off the amount owed them. She feels that his present night work has been the means of removing him from his former companions who loiter about the neighborhood at night. He has attended to his religious duties and now regularly attends Sunday services at St. Bernard's Church on 14th Street.

JLH:TAR

4-17-26

**REALIZATION OF PROBLEMS
BY PROBATIONER.**

Wood made a payment of \$5 in restitution at the office. Home and employment conditions are satisfactory. Previously the question of Wood's attendance at an evening school had been discussed and he had expressed willingness to undertake such a course. This matter, however, must now necessarily be deferred, as his night work will not permit his attendance at an evening school. It is, however, a matter of some importance to get the probationer launched as soon as possible upon a course of vocational training, and to this end efforts will be instituted to find other employment for him. If possible his working hours should be such as to allow his attending evening classes without undue sacrifice of sleep and recreation.

JLH:TAR

4-24-26

BUDGET. Wood made a payment of \$5 in restitution at office. He continues working steadily, and home conditions are satisfactory. He is earning only \$20 per week, out of which he must pay \$10 for board and room and laundry, and \$5 for restitution. Careful management with the remaining \$5 enables him to meet expenses for carfare, small articles of clothing and incidentals.

h...

4-28-26 Mrs. Albright was interviewed. She and the HOME VISIT. children are well and Mr. Albright is working steadily. The probation officer broached to her the subject of savings banks and pointed out some of their advantages as savings depositories. She agreed that if the family had originally entrusted their savings to a bank they would not have tempted the probationer to steal them. However, as she accepts Mr. Albright's initiative in these matters, she suggested to the probation officer that he discuss this question with him when he is at home. JLH:TAR

5-1-26 He made a payment of \$6 PROBATIONER REPORTED. toward his restitution, and he feels anxious to discharge this obligation as rapidly as possible. For the same reason he curtails his expenditures on clothes and other personal wants. He was given some advice on the subject of budgeting his expenditures and upon the value of a balanced standard of living. He was advised to get outdoors more during the long days of early summer. JLH:TAR

5-8-26 In the absence of his probation PROBATIONER REPORTED. officer, and made a payment of \$5 on account of restitution. He reported no change in his employment or home conditions. JLH:TAR

5-11-26 The probationer was found at home having HOME VISIT. just risen from sleep. Mrs. Albright was interviewed and gave a very satisfactory account of his conduct and progress. He regularly pays \$10 a week for his room and board, and his habits are regular. He also participates in some of the common activities of the household to the extent that his leisure allows. In company with a fellow worker, he has been taking long walks after an early supper before reporting for work.

JLH:TAR

5-15-26 Paid \$5 in restitution. Is in
PROBATIONER REPORTED. good health and working steadily. He is well satisfied for the present with his night hours, and he feels that he is not subject to so many temptations to spend money and can thus make more regular restitutional payments.

JLH:TAR

5-17-26 Mr. Simmons' assistant was seen at
EMPLOYMENT VISIT. the National Biscuit Company and through him the probationer's continued employment was confirmed. Wood was reported as being a steady and reliable worker who cooperates willingly and intelligently with his superiors. He is apparently popular with his fellow employees by reasons of his sense of humor and straightforward manner.

JLH:TAR

5-22-26 The probation officer discussed
PROBATIONER REPORTED. with the probationer the question of recreation. In view of the fact that the probationer is not a member of any boys' club it was suggested to him that he might derive great benefit from joining the Young Men's Society of St. John's Church on Jefferson Street, of which he is a member. He did not react favorably to this suggestion, however, as owing to the fact that he is working at night he is not in a position to avail himself of the use of the club rooms which are open only during the evening hours. His recreation consists for the most part in late afternoon walks and playing ball on Sundays. Wood made restitution payment of \$5.

JLH:TAR

5-29-26 Probationer failed to report.

JLH:TAR

5-31-26 Probation officer found Wood at home where
ILLNESS. he was recovering from an attack of the grippe.

This had kept him from his work for three nights, but he was determined to lose no more time. The probation officer advised him not to leave the house for

another day as the weather was inclement and he might have a relapse. Probationer was reminded to notify the probation officer by telephone of his inability to report for any reason. Mrs. Albright was also seen on this occasion. She has attended the probationer faithfully during his illness. She states that the members of her family are all in good health.

JLH:TAR

6-5-26

PROBATIONER REPORTED. Made a payment of \$7 toward restitution. He has fully recovered from his cold and has been at work since last Friday. The question of his vocational advancement was again brought forward by the probation officer who spoke to Wood about the advantages of learning a trade, since he is now in the formative years of his life. His response was not enthusiastic, and further discussion revealed the fact that he is so deeply conscious of his obligations to repay Mr. Albright that he is unwilling to leave his present position for one less secure. He was commended for his conscientiousness, but it was pointed out to him that a change in his employment might be such as to enable him to meet his financial obligations and his educational needs at the same time. He was urged to give this matter serious thought and to talk it over with the probation officer.

JLH:TAR

F. *Case Analysis (Modification)*

6-8-26

- The probationer's employment is unskilled and unprogressive. Night work prevents his attendance at vocational training classes.
1. PROBLEM.
 2. CAUSAL FACTORS. Wood has lacked direction and encouragement in the matters of education and industry. He has lacked incentive and ambition. He has had the restricted viewpoint of his fellow workers and little appreciation for his own abilities.

3. PLAN OF TREATMENT. Psychological examination of the probationer indicates special aptitude in visual-motor coordination and point to probationer's fitness for a manual vocation. Steps will be taken to find him employment as plumber's helper, where his hours will be more favorable and his wages better.

Measures are now under way to make it possible for him to enter an evening trade school. His projected day employment will leave him free for recreation in the evening. He will be encouraged to obtain membership in the Y. M. C. A. for organized recreation.

G. *Progress of Treatment (Continued)*

6-12-26 Paid \$7 on restitution account.

PROBATIONER REPORTED. He showed to probation officer a letter which he had received from his older sister Susan, a nurse attached to the Jersey City Hospital. She writes that she will be on night duty for the coming week and would be glad to have him come over and spend Sunday with her. She lives at 621 Ericson Blvd., Jersey City, at the home of the head nurse. Permission was granted probationer to call on his sister in New Jersey in view of the fact that her hours on duty ordinarily make it inconvenient for him to visit her. JLH:TAR

6-14-26 Mrs. Albright was seen and as usual gave a HOME VISIT. very gratifying report of Wood's conduct.

He seems desirous of showing his appreciation of the Albrights' treatment of him by making himself useful about the house whenever he can. A few days ago when Mrs. Albright was about to wash the windows Wood offered to do this work for her, and did it to her entire satisfaction. JLH:TAR

6-19-26 Wood paid \$7 restitution at office. He spent last FAMILY. Sunday with his sister Susan at her home in Jersey City. They talked about their younger brothers and sister, all of whom are scattered in institutions and

foster homes in the vicinity of New York. Madge, age 10, is at Valley Orphanage; Fred, 12, is at Tottenville Orphanage, while Daniel, 16, resides with the ill-tempered Aunt Mary uptown. It is Susan's hope, expressed to the probationer, to bring about a reunion of this family and the re-establishment of a home for them all. The idea appealed to George, who is anxious to do his share in the realization of this project.

Probation officer reverted to the subject of Wood's future. The latter having reflected upon the suggestions previously made to him relative to trade training, is now quite willing to follow the probation officer's lead in this matter. He expressed a desire to learn the plumber's trade. He received some practical instruction in plumbing while at the orphanage. He is still reluctant, however, to give up his present position unless steady work of another kind can be assured him. The probation officer promised that an effort would be made to effect this change. He also informed the probationer that preparations were in course for an examination (psycho-analytic) of him such as the clinic had recommended. He would be notified when it was necessary for him to appear.

JLH:TAR

6-22-26 Called at Russell Hospital. Discussed Wood's CLINIC. history and made appointment for examination.

Wrote Wood instructing him to call at hospital on Thursday, June 25th, at 3 P. M.

JLH:TAR

6-22-26 Mr. Simmons stated that the probationer is dependable and the management is considering him for an increase of \$2 in his wages beginning July 1st. As regards Wood's possible future in this employment, Mr. Simmons admitted that promotion would be slow since it depends upon the dropping out of one of the old men to make room for the younger one.

JLH:TAR

6-23-26 Outline of history forwarded to Russell Hospital.
JLH:TAR

6-25-26 Have placed Wood as a plumber's
TRADE OPPORTUNITY. helper at \$4.50 per day, in the employ of plumbing contractors, Reilly & Connolly, 121 West 23d Street. Probationer is to report to Mr. Charles Hammill, the foreman on the construction job at 132 West 37th Street, New York City, tomorrow morning.
JLH:TAR

6-26-26 He is to start work Monday,
PROBATIONER REPORTED. June 28th. He paid \$6 in restitution.
JLH:TAR

H. *Psycho-Analytical Examination*

7-1-26 "A general discussion of his entire situation and problem with George developed the very best of cooperation on his part. The very fine report sent to us was read and discussed with him. He confirmed all the statements in the report and exhibited a general attitude of desiring to do the right thing. A review of George's childhood and early environment gives a history that in a large measure explains his past conduct and reactions. There is hardly a single redeeming feature in his past physical and psychological environment.

The reflexes were tested and all were normal excepting a sluggishness in the patellar reflex. The reaction times were normal.

The following objective tests were given George with scores as shown:

1. MENTAL ABILITY. Terman I.Q. 86, Army Beta I.Q. 89, Porteus Mazes: passed Adult I on 3d trial. These results confirm the Binet score of I.Q. 90 reported for George.

2. MECHANICAL APTITUDE. T-score 56. Slightly above normal for his age. The fact that he did better on the Army Beta which is mostly

non-language, than on the Terman which is mostly language, substantiates this evidence of mechanical ability above his general intelligence.

George did the 'Healy Puzzle Box' first trial in one minute and 29 seconds, a high score. Two form boards were passed also above normal. All of these results confirm the fact that George has mechanical aptitude above his general intelligence level.

3. INTROVERSION AND EXTROVERSION On a test for *introversion* and *extroversion* George had a score of 53, which shows him as being slightly introverted, normal being 60.

4. EMOTIONAL. An examination of the *emotional status* of George shows nothing unusual that is not explainable in terms of his early environment and his recent troubling experiences. There is no evidence of escape or defense mechanisms.

5. SEXUAL. The sexual experiences of George show nothing unusual or particularly unworthy.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS. These recommendations are submitted for your confirmation:

That George shall at the first opportunity be changed from night to day work. Steps are already under way to bring this about.

That when his transfer is made George should attend the Estey Electrical School for the evening classes. He has visited this school and is very much interested in the possibility of attending it."

(Signed) Harry F. Smith, M.D.

I. *Progress of Treatment* (Continued)

7-2-26 Interviewed Mr. Albright. Advised him re-
HOME VISIT. garding facilities offered by savings banks.
He has a fatherly attitude towards Wood,
who is getting along well at home. JLH:TAR

7-3-26

TRADE PROGRESS. Wood reported that he is learning a good deal from the journeyman plumber whom he assists, and who takes an interest in him. He works from 8 to 4:45 daily, and till noon on Saturday. He paid \$5 restitution. JLH:TAR

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS. Discussed report in a general way with Wood.

ELECTRICAL TRAINING. Also advised him that arrangements had been made with the Estey Electrical School, which will admit him next week and permit him to pay tuition as the course proceeds. He showed unusual enthusiasm at the prospect. JLH:TAR

7-6-26

EMPLOYMENT VISIT. Foreman said Wood is alert and industrious, but lacking in strength to carry heavy lead pipe, etc. On the present job that is not a hardship, as laborers do all heavy carrying. JLH:TAR

7-12-26

RESTITUTION. Wood paid \$8 restitution at office. The increase in salary has made larger payments possible.

VOCATIONAL CLASS. Wood attends electrical classes five nights a week from 7 to 9 P. M. He finds the course absorbing.

RECREATION. He plays ball and hikes with fellow workers on Saturdays and Sundays. After classes, he returns home and reads a newspaper or chats with the Albrights for an hour before retiring.

PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT. Woods seems to have found new zest in life. His ambition has been kindled by larger opportunities and the discovery that he was equal to these opportunities has greatly stimulated his self confidence. His irritable, sullen manner shown in the beginning of our contact with him is no longer evident, and his selfish pursuit of his own pleasures is giving way to a consideration of the rights of others. He now seems to

feel and occasionally expresses esteem for the probation officer and does not hesitate to consult him upon his most personal problems. JLH:TAR

7-19-26 Paid \$8 restitution. Employment, electrical classes and home conditions are as previously reported.

FAMILY. As Wood has seemed reluctant to visit his brother Fred at Tottenville Orphanage, probation officer offered to go there with him on Saturday afternoon.

JLH:TAR

7-24-26 Interviewed Mr. and Mrs. Albright. They HOME VISIT. have deposited their savings in a bank, as advised. They said that Wood's probation was bringing him to bigger things than he would have hoped for otherwise.

BROTHER. Accompanied Wood to orphanage to see his brother, Fred. Two and one-half years have elapsed since they last met. They were affectionate but reserved. Fred is a quiet, pale youth, undersized. He has been an orphanage inmate for ten years, since he was two years old. On the return trip Wood spoke with feeling of his desire to establish a home for his younger brothers and sister.

JLH:TAR

7-26-26 Wood paid \$8.
RESTITUTION.

PHYSICAL CULTURE. Wood admitted the advantages for sport and wholesome exercise to be gained by membership in the Y. M. C. A., and will apply for membership.

JLH:TAR

8-3-26 Wood reported that he has joined the RECREATION. Greenwich Y. M. C. A., and has enjoyed swimming, cold showers and the hand ball court.

JLH:TAR

8-10-26 Home and employment conditions are unchanged. He has made friends with fellow members at the "Y." He made an \$8 payment of restitution.

JLH:TAR

8-24-26 Wood reports that he attends SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT. church regularly and contributes 25 cents a week to the collection. He paid \$8 restitution.

JLH:TAR

8-31-26 Wood reported. His regularity has been un- DISCIPLINE. failing and he complies faithfully with the court order regarding restitution. He paid \$8.

JLH:TAR

9-8-26 Foreman on construction job EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS. said the plumbing installation would be completed in about two weeks. However, they expect to give Wood work on another contract as his services have been satisfactory.

JLH:TAR

9-13-26 He has a new "pal," a young PROBATIONER REPORTED. student of architecture, whom he met at the "Y." After work he goes to the "Y" for a swim daily before dinner. As the electrical school is near his home, he arrives at the classes in time. Wood paid \$4 restitution. He needs the additional \$4 which he usually pays, for a new hat.

JLH:TAR

9-16-26 Wood's habits are good and his hours regular. His disposition is cheerful and his manners respectful, according to Mrs. Albright, HOME VISIT. who said she is thinking of moving to Brooklyn. She will advise Wood of any change in her plans.

JLH:TAR

9-20-26 In accordance with recommendation of New HEALTH. York Hospital, Wood was advised to return for an examination to ascertain the condition of his lungs. He paid \$8 restitution.

JLH:TAR

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9-20-26 In accordance with recommendation of New York Hospital, Wood was advised to return for an examination to ascertain the condition of his lungs. He paid \$8 restitution.

JLH:TAR

10-8-26

EMPLOYMENT VISIT.

Confirmed Wood's employment. Mr. Hahn, the new foreman, does not know Wood is on probation.

JLH:TAR

10-11-26

Wood reported he is earning \$4.50 per day steadily. He paid \$10 restitution.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT. Wood's working place is open to the air, but sheltered from storms and is well suited to his needs.

JLH:TAR

10-18-26

He paid \$10 restitution. Home, employment, recreation, vocational training and church attendance are as previously reported. Wood advised to apply for library card at the Jackson Square Branch. JLH:TAR

J. Case Analysis (Modification)

10-19-26

I. PROBLEM

- (a) Wood's vocational training is incomplete.
- (b) His earnings are those of an unskilled worker.
- (c) His reading is desultory, and chiefly confined to newspapers.
- (d) He has no savings.
- (e) He boards with a family and lives apart from his brothers and sisters.

2. CAUSAL FACTORS

- (a) The electrical course in which he is enrolled will not conclude until March, 1927.
- (b) His earnings are compatible with his skill.
- (c) He has lacked direction and good literature was not readily available to him.
- (d) Restitutional payments have used his surplus earnings over necessary expenses.
- (e) His parents are dead. Only one brother and one sister are employed and their earnings are not adequate to maintain the two younger children who are in an orphanage.

3. PLAN OF TREATMENT

- (a) Wood will continue electrical classes.
- (b) His earnings will increase when his trade training is completed.
- (c) Wood will be encouraged in the best use of a library card.
- (d) He will be encouraged to continue his thrifty habits and put his surplus in savings bank after completing restitution payments.
- (e) Wood will be aided and encouraged to plan for the establishment of a home for and with his brothers and sisters.

K. *Progress of Treatment* (Continued)

10-20-26 Mrs. Albright was shopping and only her
HOME VISIT. children were at home. JLH:TAR

10-25-26 Wood paid \$8 restitution, leaving a
ECONOMIC STATUS. balance of \$15 to be paid. Discussed
 with him possible contingencies of ill-
ness and unemployment and also constructive values of a
savings account. Constitutional and environmental condi-
tions are unchanged. JLH:TAR

11-1-26 Wood reported and paid \$5 restitution. He has
READING. obtained a library card. Gave him a list of books
 on mechanical inventions, fiction and biography.
 JLH:TAR

11-5-26 Mrs. Albright said Wood continues to live
HOME VISIT. an orderly and helpful life. She is pleased
 with his restitution payments, and feels that
her lenient attitude toward him has been well repaid.

 JLH:TAR
11-8-26 He paid \$5 restitution. His
PROBATIONER REPORTED. working and home conditions are
 unchanged. He is much inter-
ested in his progress in electrical classes. JLH:TAR

11-15-26 Wood reported. He has been reading the "Life LEISURE. of Faraday" for a little while every evening after returning from school. He spends an hour at the "Y" where he plays handball and basketball several times a week. He is gaining assurance and confidence due to increased knowledge and proficiency. JLH:TAR

11-16-26 Visited Wood at his place of employment. EMPLOYMENT. He is still working on the plumbing installation at the building under construction at 45th Street and Eighth Avenue. JLH:TAR

11-22-26 Wood made final payment of RESTITUTION COMPLETED. \$5 on account of restitution. He expressed his gratification upon having completed the payments and feels a great relief at freedom from debt. He now looks forward to saving some money. He is in need of a winter overcoat, and will apply his first savings to its purchase. JLH:TAR

11-24-26 Interviewed Mrs. Albright who was busy pre-HOME VISIT.paring for a Thanksgiving celebration for the household, including Wood, of whom the children are very fond. She said Wood had a small gift for each of the children for this occasion, and she knew that they would be delighted. Wood's conduct at home continues exemplary. JLH:TAR

11-29-26 Wood spent an enjoyable PROBATIONER REPORTED. Thanksgiving Day with the Albright family. He regretfully recalled that his younger brothers and sisters had much less to give thanks for than he had. The impulse to gather together the scattered members of his family is developing in him. The cooperation of his aunt, Mrs. Mary Wood, with whom the younger brother Daniel lives, could perhaps be secured toward the establishment of a home.

HYGIENE. Wood reported. Following up the instructions which probation officer gave to Wood earlier, he was given a pamphlet published by the U. S. Public Health Service entitled "Keeping Fit." Some matters in relation to personal hygiene which he had been concerned about were explained to him.

RECREATION. Wood plans to attend the party and dance to be given at the "Y" during the Christmas holidays. JLH:TAR

12-7-26

VOCATIONAL TRAINING. Visited the electrical school. Interviewed the director. Wood's aptitude for work has carried him beyond most of the members of his class. His attitude is very serious and absorbed, and might lead him into overwork. Care will be taken to avoid his jeopardizing his health.

JLH:TAR

L. *Case Analysis (Modification)*

12-8-26

1. PROBLEM

Wood has no savings account.

The members of his family, his brothers and sisters, are still scattered. He should be brought into closer relationship with the pastor of his church.

2. CAUSAL FACTORS

Wood has only recently completed restitution payments and has required money for clothing and other expenses.

The earnings of Wood and his employed brother and sister are not adequate to establish a home for the younger dependent members.

Although he had attended church regularly, he is not personally acquainted with the clergyman.

3. PLAN OF TREATMENT

He will be educated to appreciate the value of thrift and

savings, so that he may take the initiative in establishing a bank account.

He will be reminded to visit his brothers and sisters frequently so that the desire for the re-establishment of the home may grow.

Probation officer will take him to visit his pastor.

M. *Progress of Treatment* (Continued)

12-9-26 Wood has reported faithfully and lived up
DISCIPLINE. to the terms of his probation. Supervisor recommends that he be placed on a fortnightly reporting schedule, as he does not require close supervision. The home will be visited less frequently. J.L.H.:T.A.R.

12-9-26 Probation officer accompanied
SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT. Wood on a call on the pastor of St. John's Church by appointment. Dr. Clark received Wood cordially and expressed his desire to know him better and to help him in every possible way. He invited him to return to the rectory Sunday evening to talk over informally his ambitions and problems. J.L.H.:T.A.R.

12-10-26 Probation officer called on Mrs. Mary Wood,
FAMILY. George's aunt, at 387 Antwerp Avenue, to secure cooperation and ascertain conditions under which Wood's younger brother Daniel is living. Mrs. Wood was engaged in preparing the evening meal. She acts as janitress of the tenement house where, together with three of her children and her nephew, she occupies four rooms on the ground floor, rent free. The apartment is fairly well kept but dark and crowded. Mrs. Wood said she had tried to make something out of George while he was in her custody, but that he had set himself up as better than his cousins, and his disobedience and impertinence had led her to foresee that he would get into trouble. She was greatly surprised

to learn of George's favorable development under new environmental conditions.

She said that Daniel had been under her charge for about one year, having been released to her supervision by the orphanage. He is reasonably obedient, although occasionally he too shows stubbornness, which in her opinion needs to be met with a firm hand. Daniel is employed as errand boy by a neighborhood grocer, and earns \$12 a week. He gives all his wages to his aunt, and she allows him a dollar a week for spending money. She also saves \$2 a week for him. She has no plans for his future, and said that he would find his own way to such positions as he could fill.

JLH:TAR

12-13-26 He wore the new overcoat which he has
WOOD REPORTED. purchased with his savings. He was
pleased and gratified to learn that he
would be required to report only fortnightly hereafter. He
said he would try to show himself deserving of the confidence placed in him.

FAMILY. He will talk over plans for making a home with
his sister Susie when he sees her at Christmas.
He also intends to see Daniel and believes that by their
combined efforts they may be able to carry out their plans.

JLH:TAR

12-15-26 Visited the building where Wood is em-
EMPLOYMENT. ployed, at the noon hour, and saw him with
a fellow worker leave the place and go to
a nearby lunch room. Wood did not see the probation officer
and was not spoken to, in order to avoid embarrassing him.

JLH:TAR

12-22-26 Conditions are unchanged. Christmas plans
HOME VISIT. are under way, and include Wood, although
he intends to spend the day with his sister in
Jersey City. Interviewed Mrs. Albright, who as usual con-

firmed all of Wood's statements regarding his habits and manner of life.

JLH:TAR

12-27-26

He enjoyed the Christmas holiday which he spent with his sister Susie, in company with his brother Daniel. Daniel was delighted at the prospect of a home with his brothers and sisters. Other conditions are as usual.

JLH:TAR

1-10-27

Wood reported that he attended the New Year's party at the "Y." He met a girl who interested him and whom he escorted back to the dormitory at Spellman House. He is keeping in good physical condition by regular exercise at the "Y" gym. He is working steadily and progressing in his electrical studies.

JLH:TAR

1-12-27

Confirmed Wood's employment by calling at the premises.

JLH:TAR

1-18-27

Interviewed Mrs. Albright. She said everyone was well and that she had had an unusually good winter. Wood gets one or two books from the library every week, and finds some time for reading almost every day. He continues to attend evening classes at the "Y" and goes to church with her husband or her eldest son every Sunday.

JLH:TAR

1-24-27

Wood reported that he has accumulated \$25, and would like to open a savings account. He was advised to call at the Amalgam Bank on Monday evening for that purpose.

JLH:TAR

2-7-27

He produced a pass book which recorded that he had deposited \$30 in the Amalgam Bank. He has called on the girl whom he met at the New Year's party, Alice McGregor, and took her to the movies. He is apparently somewhat shy, and the fact that she is employed in a book store makes it possible for him to talk over with

her his reading, and gives them a common subject of interest.

JLH:TAR

2-17-27 Interviewed Mrs. Albright. Advised her that HOME VISIT. Wood is soon to be discharged from supervision and encouraged her to continue to exercise kindly influence upon Wood in the future. Also to advise probation officer at any time that Wood seemed to need aid or counsel. Mr. Albright is suffering from a sore throat. He was advised to gargle with an antiseptic solution, and if his throat was not improved by morning, to call at the out-patient department of the Manhattan Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital.

JLH:TAR

2-21-27 He is steadily employed and expects the contract will not be completed for another two months. He hopes to earn one of the three prizes awarded at the class of the electrical school a month hence.

Advised Wood to report on March 8th at 8 P. M. in Judge Blank's chambers, when the judge will consider the recommendation of the probation department for Wood's discharge from probation.

2-23-27 Called on the foreman in charge of EMPLOYMENT VISIT. the plumbing work and learned from him that Wood has established himself as a competent worker and through energy and alertness, he has overcome to a considerable extent the handicap of his slight physique. His wages were increased this week to \$5 a day.

JLH:TAR

3-2-27 Interviewed the director of the VOCATIONAL TRAINING. Trade School. Wood has continued to do well. Wood is now equipped with the trade skill that will enable him to earn a comfortable wage, and surrounded by friendly and stabilizing influences which were previously lacking in his life. It is to be expected that he will continue to give a satisfactory account of himself and live a useful life.

JLH:TAR

3-3-27

Report filed herewith recommending that Wood should be discharged from probation on March 8th, at the conclusion of his probation period, was submitted to Judge Blank. Wood has been encouraged to call on probation officer whenever he desires, and has been assured that his discharge from probation will not mean any diminution of interest in him on the part of the probation officer.

JLH:TAR

PART IV

Final Review by Court

Indictment No. 163940	Date Filed Feb. 26, 1926	DISCHARGE FROM PROBATION	Probation Officer J. L. H.	Case No. 2266
Defendant WOOD, GEORGE	Codefendants None	Probation Began March 8, 1926	Probation to End March 8, 1927	
Offense Petit Larceny	Plea Guilty	Indicted for Grand Larceny 2nd Degree	Conditions of Probation Statutory—Probation One Year Restitution \$190	
Judge Hon. James R. Blank		Final Disposition (date and order) Legal Supervision Terminated March 8, 1927		

A. Legal History

Previous Court Record

Date	Offense	Court	Disposition
March 14, 1925	Disorderly Conduct (Gambling)	Magistrates	Fined \$2

OFFENSE. On February 18, 1926, the defendant, while living with the complainant, Horace Albright, stole from the latter the sum of \$190, which he took out of its hiding place in the complainant's cuckoo clock. He was acting under an impulse to obtain money for continuing to indulge his extravagant appetite for Broadway amusements and for gambling with dice. This urge was a psychological compensation for an orphaned childhood and adolescence marred by unrelieved deprivation and repression.

B. Probation History

PERSONAL HISTORY. The probationer is 19 years of age.

He was born in this city and has lived here all his life. He is single.

RESTITUTION. The probationer was ordered to pay to the complainant Albright the entire sum of \$190 as restitution. Although the rate of payment originally agreed upon was \$4 per week, Wood voluntarily in-

creased this amount to \$5, \$7, and \$8 per week, as his earnings and thrift permitted. He thus completed payment of restitution by the end of November, 1926.

DISCIPLINE. Wood reported regularly every week, never failing except once for sickness. At the end of nine months, in consideration of his excellent record and the completion of restitution by him, he was permitted to report fortnightly thereafter. The probationer's home has been visited twice a month and monthly calls have been made at his place of employment. In each case favorable reports have been received concerning Wood's conduct. He has shown a cooperative spirit and conformed willingly to the directions laid down for his guidance by this department and has changed his original attitude of distrust to one of confidence and sincerity.

HEALTH. At the direction of this department, Wood was subjected to a general physical and mental examination at a New York hospital. This was followed up by a special psychiatric examination by a psycho-analyst and by a further examination of his chest for possible symptoms of pulmonary tuberculosis. The latter proved negative.

Intelligence tests showed Wood to be of average ability and to be endowed with special ability in the direction of mechanics. His ambition and will-power were relatively undeveloped as a result of long institutionalization. Through daily physical exercise and sport and also through physical labor in his daily employment, Wood has developed his body and improved in general health.

FAMILY AND NEIGHBORHOOD. Probationer has lived throughout the year at the house of the complainant, a six room tenement at 367 Jefferson Street, where he occupied a furnished room, paying \$10 for room and board. The neighborhood is an old one on the outskirts of Greenwich Village near the water-front,

but the probationer has deliberately avoided association with the idle youth of this district. The complainant and his family have treated Wood with all consideration and kindness, and this has been reciprocated by the latter. The ground has been prepared for a reuniting of the brothers and sisters of the probationer, heretofore scattered.

EDUCATION. When entering upon probation, Wood had only a grade school education, which he received at the orphan asylum. He lacked vocational training or any other preparation for self-support. Through the guidance of this department, he has developed an interest in books. He has enrolled in a trade school, where he is studying electrical work.

EMPLOYMENT. The probationer has been steadily employed throughout the year, at first at unskilled night work for the National Biscuit Company at a weekly wage of \$20, and then as a plumber's helper at \$26.75 per week. This employment has been progressive, in that it has enabled him to acquire considerable practical knowledge of the plumbing trade as a supplementary occupation. Arrangements have been made for his admission to the Electrical Worker's Union soon after his completion of the evening course this month.

RECREATION. Prior to coming under the supervision of this department, Wood had been dazzled by the glare of Broadway lights and had abandoned himself to the gaudy amusements of the dance hall, the musical comedy and the prize ring. He had frequented neighborhood poolrooms and gambled with dice to his sorrow. These pastimes no longer hold a lure for him. He has accepted the advice of his probation officer and become a member of the Y. M. C. A. where he finds wholesome recreational outlets and social stimulation.

RELIGION. The probationer had become lax in the observance of his religious duties during the months preceding his arrest. While on probation he has

been an attendant at St. John's Church and the interest of the clergyman has been secured.

THRIFT. This was an unknown virtue to Wood and his extravagance was a direct contributing factor in his delinquency. As his opportunity for night life was reduced by his working hours during the early months of his probationary period and regular restitutional payments were required of him, Wood developed habits of thrift, which have recently culminated in the establishment of a savings account at the bank, where he now has \$55 on deposit.

C. Prognosis

The unfavorable environmental and developmental influences which had led to Wood's involvement with the law have been neutralized by the favorable influences to which he has been exposed while on probation. His behavior and attitude and his adjustment to industrial and social conditions give solid ground for the expectation that he will lead a law-abiding and useful life in the community in future.

D. Recommendation

In view of these facts, it is respectfully recommended by this department that if it meet with the approval of Your Honor, George Wood be discharged from further probationary supervision.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) EDWIN J. COOLEY,
Chief Probation Officer.
Court of General Sessions.

Approved:

(Signed) James R. Blank,
Judge, Court of
General Sessions.

Dated—March 8, 1927

PART V

Termination of Probation

On March 8, 1927, the Court entered an Order discharging George Wood from probation as improved in conduct, and the final disposition was thus recorded and reported to the New York State Probation Commission at Albany, N. Y.

JLH:TAR

Adult Case No. 2

Robert White

Presented by Edward P. Volz

Chief Probation Officer, Erie County Courts, Buffalo, N. Y.

To adequately present the case I have selected, it will be necessary to show the character and scope of the pre-sentence investigation, the plan of treatment decided upon, the supervision exercised, the probationer's reaction to oversight, and finally, the results attained. The case involved is in many respects a semi-rural problem, and is still active.

Our first contact with Robert, now 20 years of age, was on October 29, 1926, following his plea of guilty to the charge of burglary in the third degree, in the County Court of Erie County, at Buffalo, N. Y. Immediately after the defendant admitted his guilt, the investigation was assigned to the probation officer in charge of the district in which the delinquent resided.

The officer's first step was to examine the records and papers pertaining to the case which were on file in the district attorney's office. An interview followed with the defendant in a room provided for that purpose at the county jail. The interview lasted an hour and a half. The officer next cleared the case with the Social Service Exchange. With the information at hand, the actual investigation and checking up process was started. Rather than summarize the facts learned, may I read the report—partially condensed—which was submitted on this case to the court, prior to sentence:

Investigation Report

Name: Robert White

Offense: Burglary 3rd degree

Manner of Conviction: Plea

Court: County

Date of Conviction: October 29, 1926.

Date of Disposition. November 5, 1926

No previous court or institutional record

Offense:

About 10 P. M. on September 23, 1926, this defendant, and co-defendant Clifton Smith* entered an unlocked garage owned by the Jones & Wilson Feed Co. on Seventh Avenue, Hamburg, N. Y., and while the co-defendant was endeavoring to siphon gasoline from one of the trucks, the defendant lit a match, accidentally setting fire to the place. The defendant was arrested in the village three days later by Officer James Collins of the Hamburg Police Department.

Defendant has been in jail five weeks and five days.

Complainant:

Mr. Frank Jones, of the Jones & Wilson Feed Co. of Hamburg is the complainant in this matter. He has known the defendant for some time. In spite of his loss as the result of this affair, he recommends that Your Honor be lenient in disposing of the matter. He thinks the defendant should be ordered to pay as his share of the restitution involved, the sum of \$500, provided probation is granted.

General Information

It has been ascertained from careful inquiry that on the evening in question, the defendant and the co-defendant had been riding in a Ford car owned by the latter's brother, and had been alternating at the wheel, although neither of the young men possessed an operator's license. While in the vicinity of the complainant's garage they discovered that their supply of gasoline was getting low. Being without funds they agreed to force an entrance, if necessary into the garage referred to, for the purpose of obtaining more fuel.

* The names used are fictitious.

They found the place unlocked. As previously indicated, while co-defendant Smith was attempting to siphon gasoline from one of the trucks stored there, the defendant held a lighted match near the tank and an explosion and fire followed. The building and contents were totally destroyed causing a loss to the feed company of \$2,000. There was no insurance. While the defendant escaped from the place uninjured, his companion was severely burned.

Family History

The defendant, who is 18 years of age and single, comes from a disintegrated family. He is the fifth in a family of seven children, two of whom are illegitimate. His father, who deserted the family in 1912 and who has not been heard of since, was an inebriate. He seldom worked and never properly met his domestic responsibilities. The mother was a drunkard, immoral, and of a poor type generally. On one occasion she was arrested for adultery. She eventually became insane and for the past ten years has been confined in a state hospital. Since this time, one of the defendant's sisters has married. Two brothers and two sisters have disappeared.

Several years before the father deserted his family the defendant and a younger sister were adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Deck, of Bay View. The lad lived amidst happy and clean home surroundings until 1922 when his foster mother died. The second foster mother never understood Robert and was more or less unkind to him. In 1924, the lad left home and from that time until his arrest for the offense in question, his environment and general mode of living were very unsatisfactory. In the meantime the Deck's had broken up their home and gone south leaving the younger sister with another family in the village.

At the time the defendant became involved in his present difficulty, he was living with the codefendant and another young man, in a small room in the rear of a garage in

Hamburg. They paid \$4 a month rent for the place and did their own cooking. Their abode had been complained of to the police as a public nuisance and a "loafer's hut" by various business men of the village.

School History

The defendant attended the public schools at Woodlawn until he was sixteen years of age. At that time he was in the 8th grade. His attendance and scholarship were slightly below average, although he did not play truant, nor did he fail to do his best to apply himself to his studies. His deportment was good.

Habits and Associates

During the past year, the defendant has been intoxicated on several occasions. He smokes cigarettes excessively. So far as can be learned, he is not addicted to bad sex habits. The defendant's associates, particularly since he has been on his own resources, have been of an inferior type. Many of them are heavy drinkers, idlers, and delinquents. On occasions he has been seen in company with young girls of bad reputation.

Employment History

At the time of the commitment of this affair, the defendant was employed at the general machine shop in Hamburg, as a helper and earned \$15 a week. He had been in the shop's employ for six weeks. He had previously worked at this place for one year and a half, but had quit the job for no reason. The balance of the young man's work record consisted of doing odd jobs. He seldom earned more than \$12 weekly. On occasions he wanted to learn a trade and at other times to do farm work. He had no special abilities.

Leisure Time Activities

During early boyhood the defendant was a member of the Boy Scouts but after leaving his foster parents he took

no further interest in the organization. During the past year especially, he has failed to take advantage of the wholesome recreational facilities that were within his reach. His spare time has been spent loafing about saloons, pool rooms, cheap dance halls, street corners, and in the referred to "loafer's hut." Occasionally he took automobile rides with his chums.

Religious Activities

During the time the defendant lived at the Deck home his religious training was not neglected. He was a regular attendant at the St. James Lutheran Church in Hamburg and attended Sunday school sessions there with his sister. Recently however, he has completely fallen away from his religious duties.

Physical and Mental Status

A physical examination made of this young man shows him to be: 5 feet in height, and 14 pounds underweight. His nutritional condition is poor; hearing and sight not especially keen; tonsils and teeth in need of attention; throat glandular, and his general physical condition poor. A psychological examination of the defendant revealed a mental age level of 12 years and 5 months, to be interpreted: of "borderline" intelligence, I. Q.77 plus.

Personality and Attitude

The defendant appears to be one who lacks a normal amount of energy and buoyancy. He is docile, pleasant, and ordinarily quiet. Occasionally he is given to depression. He has a small range of interest. Of late he has neglected his personal appearance. Economically he has been going from bad to worse. During the several talks the writer has had with him, Robert has been frank in discussing his affairs and seems sincere in his desire to make amends for his misconduct.

References

A number of people, including business men, police, clergymen, town and school officials, and former employers were interviewed. Much of the information already given was contributed by them. All who were spoken to had known defendant for some time. The consensus of opinion expressed by them, based on their own observations, is that the defendant's delinquency is due primarily to bad company, intemperance and a lack of restraining influences. Opinion seems divided as to the wisdom of turning defendant back into the community.

Recommendation

Viewing this case from all angles, there seems to be more than a fair chance that under strict, sympathetic and helpful guidance, and in proper environment, the defendant can be induced to lead a decent and useful life. His age; the prospects of constructive cooperation from various sources; the boy's own attitude, and other elements already pointed out, lead the writer to respectfully recommend to Your Honor that probation be granted in this case.

Respectfully submitted:

Probation Officer.

Approved:

Chief Probation Officer.

Judgment of the Court: Defendant sentenced to the state reformatory until discharged according to law. Execution of the sentence suspended. Defendant placed on probation for an indefinite period. As a condition of probation: To make restitution of \$500.

Formulation of Plan of Treatment

The preliminary investigation in this case, while lacking in facts relating to Robert's family history, offered a fairly substantial basis for the formulation of a constructive,

tentative plan of treatment. There was indeed service to be rendered here that challenged an enthusiastic and capable officer—one who understood human conduct and behavior urges, and could inspire confidence and trust, as well as one who knew his community resources and how to use them.

Actual supervision of Robert began of course immediately after his release. The first step took the form of a private interview with the probation officer at the department offices. At this time the conditions of probation were carefully and thoroughly explained to Robert and he was given printed instructions. He was to report weekly. Advice relative to his future conduct was given him. The probation officer was careful not to give too much advice on the theory that it is usually unwise to do this or to exact many promises during a first interview. The probationer needs to know the officer better. The advice will come with added force if there is an appreciation of the friendliness of the probation officer's motives.

The supervising officer, in conference with the deputy chief probation officer, mapped out a plan of treatment to be applied for the probationer's readjustment. At this conference the probationer's assets were listed:

The probationer was not confirmed in criminal ways. He had during his impressionable age, known the meaning of, and experienced happy home surroundings with his first foster parents. He had until two years before his arrest been subjected to moral influences that were constructive. He had received a fair amount of schooling. He was frank and seemed to exhibit remorse for his misconduct. He was ordinarily quiet and docile. Persons of repute seemed willing and anxious to lend their cooperation in an effort to help the probationer rehabilitate himself.

Analysis of the case however, showed a formidable array of liabilities:

The officer in charge had no robust and buoyant individ-

ual to deal with. Robert was of small stature and underweight. His physical condition was poor. From an employment standpoint this was a serious handicap. Mentally, the young man was of borderline intelligence, and inclined to depression. He was without a home or parents. He was given to intemperance. He came from an inferior and disintegrated family. He had been associating with idlers, drunkards and delinquents. He had fallen away from his church duties. He had lost interest in his personal appearance and future welfare. He was without a job, funds or decent clothing. He was an unskilled and casual worker, accustomed to spend whatever money he earned, as soon as he received it. He felt himself inferior—mentally and physically—to those with whom he came in contact. The reputation of his parents had had a more or less demoralizing effect upon him. Finally, we were to collect restitution of \$500.

Holding this definitely in mind that successful probation practice requires the supervisory treatment to be fitted to the needs of the delinquent concerned and that the nature of every phase of the plan of treatment must be for the probationer's permanent rehabilitation, the following objectives were decided upon:

Endeavor to place probationer in a good home, properly located as to neighborhood.

Assist probationer in obtaining suitable employment.

Secure the cooperation of his former pastor.

Induce him to give up the use of intoxicants and associate with desirable companions.

Take necessary steps to bring about an improvement in his physical condition. Obtain necessary dental treatment.

Stimulate within him a desire for further education.

Induce probationer to utilize his spare time in wholesome recreational pursuits.

Persuade the young man to take greater pride in his personal appearance. Offer guidance that will help him regain his self respect.

Have him start a savings account.

Overcome his poor judgment in reference to expenditures and arrange for payment of restitution.

Ascertain and offset so far as possible, factors causing occasional spells of depression.

The aims in this case were ambitious but no more so than they should have been. It was planned, you will note, to concentrate on the following elements:

1. Social relationships.
2. Environment.
3. Employment.
4. Education.
5. Recreation.
6. Religion.
7. Health
8. Thrift.

The plan was subject to modification, if necessary, as the period of probation progressed.

Application of Plan, and History of Supervision

The plan just outlined was submitted to the probationer in due time, and his comments and general attitude were carefully noted. He seemed to feel his social isolation quite keenly and appeared eager to cooperate with the probation officer. Already the young man had begun to consider the probation officer a helpful friend—in fact the officer was the first person who had evinced an active interest in him for more than two years. Thus far, much had been done for him by the probation officer. A temporary home in Buffalo, at an older boys' club, maintained by the Children's Aid Society, in a desirable residential part of the city, had been provided through the cooperation of the director of

boys' work, of that agency. Also, a job at light work in a large manufacturing plant was secured for him through the officer's friendship with the employment manager of the concern.

At the club referred to, the probationer had to pay his board, keep good hours and live up to certain rules. Until he received his first week's pay, a small amount of money for carfare and incidental expenses was advanced him by the club management. The club rooms afforded him an opportunity for pleasant recreation, and wholesome companionship. He found himself much more comfortably situated than he had been at any time during the past two years.

The officer, fully aware of the probationer's general attitude towards him, and his agreeable reaction to supervision thus far, was eager to develop the friendly relationship. Yet the probationer was not pampered, but a sensible balance of firmness and sympathy was maintained. By frequently pointing out to the probationer the evils of intemperance, loose living, idleness, and dishonesty, and by good example and encouragement, the probation officer brought the boy to realize the wisdom and benefits of orderly, decent behavior.

The lad began to take a greater pride in his personal appearance as the period of supervision went on. The influences surrounding him at the club probably had something to do with it, because rules as to cleanliness, neatness, and good habits had to be observed. But, within himself, there seemed to be a sincere desire to improve generally. He had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and with the help of a younger sister, who lived in a nearby suburb, he was induced to attend church regularly with her. The pastor of the church and his wife at the officer's request, were eager to lend their cooperation, and did so generously.

Although the probationer was now self supporting, he

began at the end of the second month to tire of his first job. It was rather far from the boys' club and the rides on the street car were therefore long and cold. The rules of the club did not permit its boarders to remain indefinitely, as it was an institution designed primarily for temporary shelter. The young man expressed a wish to go back to the village where he had lived all his life in spite of the fact that he had committed crime there and for two years had been more or less of a social misfit.

Perhaps Robert after all was growing tired of straight living, and the unaccustomed discipline that surrounded him, and longed to get back to his old associates. This, however, was difficult for the probation officer to believe. The young man had given up drinking; he had worked hard and honestly for several months; he had developed a sense of pride; he had \$38 in savings, and had been attending church regularly.

In a discussion of his problem with the officer, Robert said he had ceased to care for city life and its complexities. He had not liked it from the beginning, but as he expressed it, he did not wish to "hurt" the officer's feelings, because he had been "so decent" to him. Here were hopeful qualities indeed—frankness and appreciation.

Working on the theory that character is not as a rule made in glass houses, and that the removal of old temptations has a tendency sometimes to weaken character—or to put it another way, human character is developed as it withstands temptations—the probation officer agreed to permit Robert to return to the village in question if suitable employment and a desirable home could be found for him upon his sincere promise to continue his good behavior.

The population of the village in question is about 3500. A new home was secured for him, one of the best in the village. The people were highly respectable. The man with whom he was to live conducted an automobile agency near his home. He agreed to give the probationer a job at

light work, and in addition to his board to pay him \$15 a week. At the probation officer's suggestion, which was agreeable to the probationer, \$10 of this amount was to be applied each week on the restitution involved.

The probationer felt he would be contented here and for some time he was. An automobile operator's license was secured for him. As a result he frequently drove the family car. His simple recreational desires were met by an occasional pleasure ride with the family; "listening in" over the radio; attendance at church socials and picture shows with his sister. He lived near his former pastor. From the pastor and his wife, he received much encouragement and good advice. The good natured chief of police of the village expressed surprise over the change that had seemingly come over the young man and was happy about him, too. He promised to let the probation officer know if Robert misconducted himself in any way. But he made no such reports. Old associates and habits had evidently lost their appeal. Instead of the pool room and the "speakeasy," the probationer preferred the reading room at the village library, and the radio at home. On the occasions of his weekly visits to the probationer's home and place of employment, and from other reliable sources, the officer was satisfied that Robert's conduct was quite in keeping with the terms of his probation.

The situation remained unchanged for about ten weeks, when the probation officer was advised that the employer was developing an apparent dislike for the lad. No complaint had been made concerning his conduct. He was working steadily, going to church regularly, keeping good hours and associating with respectable company. The man finally made it plain to the officer however, that he felt he was not getting "credit" enough for what he was doing in the case; that he was paying the probationer too much in wages, and in other respects the lad had "too much of a good thing."

Rather than allow the probationer to remain under the

circumstances, he was induced to return to the older boys' club in Buffalo until other arrangements could be made. The change had a somewhat depressing effect upon Robert, because he had liked his home and work, but he had every confidence in the officer's ability to eventually straighten out the matter in a satisfactory manner. This time Robert paid his board at the club in advance with money he had saved. He received some necessary dental attention while there.

The state of affairs just indicated, necessitated of course quick action on the part of the officer, to ward off any possibility that the probationer become further discouraged and depressed. At a conference with the deputy chief probation officer, and the director of boys' work of the Children's Aid Society, it was concluded that work on a farm would appeal to the probationer. It was decided that the farm should be reasonably near the village, so that the lad's spiritual well-being and opportunities for suitable recreation could be assured, and the monotony of farm life, thus offset. It was remembered that his range of interest was small, and his tastes simple. The suggestion was accordingly made to him, and met with his instant approval.

Four days later through the officer's efforts, Robert was located in a wholesome farm home on the outskirts of the village. Slack work brought him back to the Boys' Club within a month. He had, however, taken a great fancy to farm life, and wanted more of it.

The probation officer the following day made a determined search for another suitable farm for his charge. He succeeded in his efforts, and the probationer was taken to a new home located about four miles from the village. Here he had a radio and victrola. The people were regular church attendants. Their two boys, both about Robert's age, were fine companions for him. The people had known Robert since his birth and were glad to assist him. During his spare-time he occasionally found diversion in hunting and fishing with the boys and their father. There were

picnics, home parties, baseball, quoits and other recreational activities. While there was plenty of work to do, his duties were of a nature suited to his frail physique. His physical condition improved.

Since July, 1927, a period of eleven months, except for a short period during the past winter when work was slack and he obtained a job with neighbors across the road, the probationer has lived with this fine family. Indications are that he will remain with them indefinitely. It is a family of unusual solidarity. The members of the household are of the type who counsel and discuss together plans pertaining to their collective well-being; and Robert, as I have indicated, is virtually a member of this sturdy family group. His earnings, while not particularly large at present, are sufficient to enable him to keep himself well clothed, and to put aside a certain amount each month. He has paid to date about \$250 of the restitution money. He continues to attend to his church, and in other respects is conducting himself in a manner that indicates he has a precise conception of respectability and useful citizenship. Moreover he is happy, and in excellent physical condition. His tendency to depression is no longer evident and a pleasing personality has developed.

In spite of Robert's satisfactory present status, and the fact that he has been under intensive supervision for nearly a year and a half, the probation officer is not ready to recommend his release from probation. It is felt that constructive supervision for perhaps another year will do much to further straighten Robert's character, develop his self respect and self control,—and bring him to the point where there is no doubt but that his readjustment within himself and with the community is permanent.

DISCUSSION

EDGAR M. GERLACH (Director, Older Boys' Dept. Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, Baltimore, Md.): I have two or three questions I should like to ask. Did the same individual investigate and supervise the

case? What was the case load of the person who made the investigation? What was the distance from the probation office to this village?

EDWARD P. VOLZ (Chief Probation Officer, Erie County Courts, Buffalo, N. Y.): The officer who made the pre-sentence investigation in this case did supervise the probationer. The case load was about eighty; the distance from the city about eleven miles. After the first of July our corps of officers will be divided into two groups—investigators and supervisors.

LUTHER TANNER (Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Richmond, Va.): I should like to ask Mr. Volz how long Robert could be kept on probation.

MR. VOLZ: The legal limit of probation is five years. The average term of probation so far as our department is concerned is in the neighborhood of a year and a half. Many cases are held four or five years.

L. F. MURPHY (State Probation Officer, Madison, Wisconsin): During the discussion I was struck with the ease with which Robert accepted the suggestion of farm work. Had he any previous experience with farming?

MR. VOLZ: For sixteen years he lived adjacent to the village referred to and his home was in many respects a farm home. He was adopted by the people mentioned in the case history when he was about seven months old and remained with them nearly sixteen years.

JOSEPH P. MURPHY (Chief Probation Officer, Essex County Court, Newark, N. J.): There are a few facts about this case which are important. First, there was an adequate pre-sentence investigation of such scope and comprehensiveness as to give the judge an idea of the kind of person he was dealing with and the probation department sufficient chance to work out an adequate plan of social action with the probationer. Because of the ability and policy of the department to carry out and put into practice an adequate plan of treatment covering every phase of the probationer's life and activities, it was possible to follow the boy throughout his probationary term. He was placed under the care of a probation officer who understood him and who could establish a satisfactory relationship between the probationer and himself—an officer who had the ability to "travel" along with the probationer despite handicaps, discouragements and reverses. The fact that there were in the community social resources to meet the particular type of problem involved, made it a more or less simple task, although it presented a very difficult problem at the beginning and indeed throughout the probation treatment. These are the significant facts which I gathered from the case.

JOEL R. MOORE (Assistant Chief Probation Officer, Recorder's Court, Detroit, Mich.): There is perhaps apparent a greater volume of crime now due to the fact that offenses have been placed in the felony class which were not classified in that manner before. Rape has increased amazingly in this country because the age limit has been raised. In changing the age limit, the volume has also been changed. I believe we can leave this conference feeling that probation is worthwhile for the individual whom we are attempting to help and that it is worthwhile to the community which we serve. The judges and enlightened courts of the country are trying to handle probation in such a way that it will prove constructive.

I should like to ask Mr. Volz how he distributes his probationers.

MR. VOLZ: Every investigation is reviewed by the chief probation officer. He is in court when the individual is placed on probation. Having definite knowledge of the probationer's history, his tendencies and capabilities, the chief probation officer assigns the case for supervision. In making assignments he takes into consideration the personality, tact, resourcefulness and general fitness of the officer who handles certain types of cases. He tries also to place the officers according to districts.

We arrange our work according to the district plan on the theory that it is a time saver. Moreover, it avoids duplication of effort and prevents confusion. It is, I feel, a business-like way to handle assignments in view of the fact that we have an area of 1,068 square miles to cover.

Adult Case No. 3

MARY

Presented by Mrs. Kathleen J. Lowrie

*In charge of Women's Division, Recorder's Court,
Detroit, Michigan*

A case record per se has been reputed to lend more heat than light to the solution of the problems of the sociologist. In our occupation with the scientific approach to the general problem of criminology we have emphasized the need for preventive work, and have urged that the community interest itself in the building up of a body of statistical material from the case histories in the adult courts to determine the part played or left unplayed by parent, home, school, recreation, protective agency, economic arrangement and so on, in the conditioning of the adult criminal. Because of the tremendous emphasis on this point (unconscious though much of it has been), even though statistics have not developed to any considerable degree, the social hygienists, the psychiatrists, the progressive schools, the recreation people, the private and public health clinics, have thought of crime in terms of prevention. This emphasis is perhaps the strongest contribution to the community which has been made in the field of criminology by the social worker.

Improvement of Case Work Material

The other emphasis we are making, obviously, is the need for improving our case work technique within probation departments. We have begun to standardize this technique through conferences of this sort. The need for much more learning and understanding in the matter of diagnosis and supervision is perhaps the real problem for the adult and also the juvenile probation officer of the future. Ade-

quate diagnosis is in its infancy, and the possibilities for making a human contact which will be of real help to the probationer are only beginning to be realized. As we become more understanding of personality problems, more and more reliance will be placed upon supervision in the community—the manner and extent varying with the individual—and less reliance on institutional care except in the case of inadequate defectives.

The social worker is convinced of the essential rightness of these two emphases—preventive work in the environment, and the case work method in court—but the community does not appreciate the justice inherent in this approach, and tends more and more to be either sentimental or vengeful about adult offenders. This is a challenging situation to the social worker.

Juvenile and adult probation are contemporaries. Each grows out of the similar need for an institution of final authority to which private agencies or individuals may resort when a maladjusted individual seems to warrant it, and each faces the problem of institutionalizing the hopelessly defective, whether the particular offense be major or minor, providing disciplinary treatment for others in an institution with the hope they will profit by it, and supervising still others in the community. The people who bring cases to the criminal court do not always do so with the idea that the social investigation technique will answer the demands of the adult court satisfactorily. They do not always plan to present what facts they have and expect the court to make a careful investigation as a basis for disposition of the case. Unfortunately the more common attitude is to consider the adult court an institution whose function is to send a person to jail. While we understand the attitude, in view of what the complainant has suffered or seen some one else suffer, nevertheless it is jeopardizing the scientific approach, making it difficult to carry out the case work method in reference to the defendant.

And here we have, I think, an effective use for the individual case history. After all, socially minded judges, probation officers and other social workers who approve this case work method do so partly because they have only been able to explain human actions in that way. If we social workers, on and off the bench, can at times present case histories to others, we can perhaps make clear what we do to try to understand an adult offender before sentence, preferably at the time of the first offense.

Mary

Mary S., age twenty-two, is arrested with a girl friend on a charge of larceny in November, 1926. Her codefendant is referred to the juvenile court because she is under seventeen. Mary impresses us in the pre-court interview as a rather pathetic person, apparently inferior. She is shabbily dressed. She states she has never been in Detroit before; that she came over from a small town fifteen miles from Windsor. She doesn't know the name. "It is on the sign near the station, but I've never been out that way." She tells a story of foster parents from whom she ran away because they work her too hard and are mean. She says they want her to milk twenty-one cows every morning. She broke her left leg three months ago and they let her lie three weeks without getting medical attention. She and the co-defendant planned to stay with a friend here. They went into a department store and she took a coat "because people laugh at my old one." In court she pleads guilty and is referred to the probation department for investigation. We register the case and find she is not known to police or social agencies. Then we secure a history.

We are unable to learn of the education, health, and economic status of the maternal and paternal relatives, because Mary knows nothing of her parents except her mother's name. "I don't know whether I had a father. I was a baby six weeks old when I was adopted, but they did not tell me until I was eighteen." She does not know where her mother is. "What I am getting funny about is, is she living?

She was living when I was taken, maybe she is living yet. Maybe she is looking for me." Her foster parents are from Belgium. They brought her from England to Alberta, Canada where they farmed, when she was a year old. As to her foster father's education she says: "He can figure good. He can read and write English, Belgian and German." The foster mother could read and write five languages. She used to have "a bar and a kitchen place in Belgium." She died about two weeks ago. Mary told a long story about how she took her to a hospital and spent a lot of money for her before she died. "She used to bawl me out, but she was good to me."

In telling of her early home life, Mary showed that she liked the farm in Alberta. "Dad had two horses. I was happy. I was raised like an angel until I was fifteen, and after that they did not like me." She tells again of the broken leg and no treatment.

As to education, Mary said she started school at five and completed the ninth grade at fifteen. "Then they made me quit. I liked music and singing. I disliked arithmetic and spelling. I got a hundred in pretty nearly everything. I liked lots of singing. I was ahead of the class in singing. I got along fine in school. I agreed with them all. I played hookey twice and got a strapping twice." She tells of ice hockey and basket ball games.

Her work history is irregular. She did farm work at home. Six months ago she ran away, and found work as an assembler in an automobile factory. After two or three months she returned home and left the second time three weeks ago. (She was vague about this.)

She tells of forced sex relation at fourteen and of an illegitimate child at fifteen. The parents were kind to her about this, and she had good medical treatment. The child was adopted. She tells of other boy friends, but denies intimacy. One of them, Frank, is her foster father's nephew. "I have been engaged to him three times."

As to the economic situation she explains she works at home and gets only her room and board, and for this reason she ran away. She is contradictory about her earnings in Detroit, saying she gave what she could spare to her parents, and at another time that she saved \$495. She has no money now.

She talks at length about childhood diseases, but thinks she is in good condition. She admits drinking beer occasionally, but not to excess. She does not smoke. As to ways of spending her leisure time, she likes hockey, she goes to vaudeville shows and movies, preferably western pictures. She reads "Welcome," "True Stories," "True Romance." Her mother taught her embroidery work, and to dance "the Canadian way." On thrift—"I give everything away, but I don't spend much. I am awfully good hearted." As to the larceny, she admits she took the coat, and explains she didn't have any money.

The day after this interview we located the foster parents in Detroit; the mother is living. Mary ran away two months before the arrest (the second time this had happened in six months). The history is fairly accurate as Mary gave it, except there was a second illegitimate child which died at birth. These parents are kind, hardworking people from a rural community, differing with Mary in regard to money allowance, and evidently quite worried and distraught in regard to the sex experience, but anxious to try and help her. Mary wishes at this time to return home. We refer her to the psychopathic clinic for examination, and learn she is inferior, but not enough so to be committable, and that there is no organic pathology of the central nervous system.

In summing up the case for the judge, we note her physical health is apparently normal, she has a mental age of 10 years and 9 months, and an I. Q. of 67. She was not retarded in school; she had no vocational training. She has been supported by her foster parents chiefly in rural

communities, and has worked for wages only when she ran away from home (a total of perhaps five months), and then found factory work easily and held it without difficulty. She is single. The fact of her illegitimacy, and the very apparent shock of the foster parents in regard to her own illegitimate pregnancies has been upsetting and depressing. As to personality traits, she is rather simple in her judgment; very suggestable; tends to dramatize herself and to color her stories, but on the whole is frank and cooperative; she is well energized. The difference in opinion in regard to money matters coupled with her feeling about the parents' baffled attitude toward the illegitimate pregnancies are probably the chief factors in the offense.

Before investigation the court might have suspended sentence in view of our having located the parents and of her evident lack of sophistication at larceny; or she might have been given a small fine which the father would have paid. In view of the unsatisfactory contact between the girl and her parents, and the evident need for understanding between them, the judge placed her on probation.

We have known Mary one year and a half, and have had several conferences with the parents. She has been frank and cooperative. She lived with her parents until a little less than a year ago, when she married Frank. They have a three-room apartment in the neighborhood of her parents. Her housekeeping standards are not high, but Frank seems unconcerned. He has been steadily employed. She has worked a large part of the time. They have Sunday dinner with the parents and the mother helps her buy clothes and talks much more freely to her about her personal problems. Mary has some of the money to spend, and at one time attempted a budget book. She was not very systematic about it, being chiefly interested in putting down what magazines they bought, and what movies they went to. She is very serious, however, about keeping the expenses within the income. Frank is a rather simple, docile person.

We have heard of no serious upsets. She still tells us fantastic stories about slight injuries. We have referred her for a medical examination. She was told she was badly in need of a tonsillectomy, but on arriving at the hospital to keep the appointment given her, she was told there was no bed. She called us up from the hospital crying and said she'd never have them taken out. So that is to be gone over again. We attempted to locate her mother in Scotland but were unable to do so. She and Frank are talking of going west on a farm, but they may merely be expressing their urge for change in this way.

We can't say Mary is typical of women coming to court. It would be difficult to find a history which could be so designated. Whether we present a rather simple person like this, or a more intelligent, unstable one, or any other of the endless variety of personalities we meet in the criminal court, the point would be the same. If the social worker can show just what uncovering of facts occurs when a social investigation is made so that the judge may dispose more intelligently of a criminal case, and can promote cooperation from the community with the plan, in order that it may be more widely adopted, we shall take another step toward socializing courts.

Juvenile Case No. 1

A BOY DELINQUENT IN THE BOSTON JUVENILE COURT

Presented by Mrs. Marjorie Bell

Field Secretary, National Probation Association

Stephen Bradley's father died in the influenza epidemic of 1918, when he was five years old. His mother was left with two other children besides Stephen, Arthur born in 1912 and Anna born in 1915. She received \$14 a week from the Overseers of the Poor and worked three days a week in a clothing factory to supplement this. While she was at her work the three children were left with their paternal grandmother.

In June, 1921, Stephen, nine years of age, was brought into court with his brother Arthur and another small boy for the larceny of a sword from an antique shop. They had hidden the sword in a hole in the yard but it was discovered and returned. The mother seemed to be much concerned over the boys' arrest. She told the judge that she had had no trouble with the boys—that they were home early every night and attended to their religious duties regularly. The investigation made by the probation officer verified this. Stephen's teacher said that his attendance and scholarship were "perfect."

Stephen was examined at the Judge Baker Foundation and was reported to be normal in development. One difficulty noted was defective vision in his right eye due to strabismus. Mentally he was found to have decidedly good general ability. Because the boy was so small and the offense a childish one, intensive work was not done at this period and the case was filed in October, 1921, after receiving good reports of the boy's progress in the fall term of school.

Stephen in Court Again

In October, 1925, Stephen was brought into court on two charges. In the first offense he, with eight other boys, was accused of breaking and entering a building in the night-time and taking \$11 in money. In the second offense he was with five boys accused of breaking into and entering another building and taking cigarettes, pipes and cigars. Stephen admitted the break, saying that he smashed the window with a brick to get in. He was given a suspended sentence to the state school. His reaction to the decision of the court was to stamp his foot and call the judge an insulting name. Inquiry on the part of the probation officer now reveals a condition very different from that of four years before. His school work is a long way from "perfect." He plays truant occasionally and does not seem to care about his studies, except handwork which he does beautifully. The teacher says, "He seems to lack something. When he is good he is very nice, but when he is bad he becomes horrid and one cannot bend him. He is unbalanced, irritable, easily excited but can be appealed to and is pleased when he does well." The boy sometimes has tantrums especially about his glasses which he does not want to wear.

The mother now says that she has had a great deal of trouble with Stephen, who is unmanageable and does not go to school regularly. She feels that older boys influence him for the worse and admits that he gets into lots of trouble. The neighbors have a very poor opinion of him and consider him the leader in this affair. The boy is very nice to his mother and never talks back, but when she turns around he is likely to hit his little sister, and much of the time seems quite uncontrolled.

Pending further decision of the court, Stephen was placed temporarily with the Department of Public Welfare. He ran away twice in the first week from his foster home. He was disobedient there and was the leader when the boys in the home took a case of milk bottles from a truck and

tried to sell them. The boy was referred again to the Judge Baker Foundation. Some notes from their report are particularly significant. Very good mental ability is recorded and Stephen was interested in the tests. He is described as "robust and manly looking with regular and rather attractive features." In the interview he was civil, likeable and friendly, displaying a good sense of loyalty. "When seen further he becomes swaggering and 'fresh.' A braggart at least, and somewhat shrewd. Desires to be a leader and a hero and is not truthful in self-defense." Analyzing the causes of delinquency, the psychiatrist makes note of a great sense of inferiority particularly on account of his strabismus. There is much attempt to compensate for it by anti-social behavior. Second, much teasing on the part of other boys because of his crossed eye. Third, personal characteristics, particularly his love of adventure and physical endowments, and fourth, very pleasurable returns from his adventures. The report further adds "we recognize that this is an extremely important case. This boy might readily become thoroughly criminalistic unless his career is checked." The strabismus should be corrected and the boy should have plenty of active outlets. His own feelings about the world need to be altered.

Stephen is Placed in a Foster Home

It was decided by the judge and the probation officer with the advice of the Foundation to have this boy placed in a foster home. A child-placing agency was called upon. Effort was at once made to have the eye condition corrected, but difficulty was encountered because the doctors at the eye and ear infirmary advised against it on the ground that his strabismus was not severe enough to make an operation absolutely necessary, and with glasses and eye exercises good results might be obtained. The trouble, of course, was that this boy could never be persuaded to wear his glasses regularly, and it would be quite out of the question to get

him to exercise one eye systematically for an hour every day.

Stephen was placed in a home in Vermont where there were five other boys, three in the family between fourteen and eighteen years of age, and two other boys who had been placed there. He did very well for some months except for two setbacks reported by the foster mother. When he came in to see the judge and the probation officer in the spring of 1926 he looked much improved. He said he liked his school and his foster home. The children's organization through which he was placed gave a good report of him. He visited his mother for three days and returned to Vermont. Stephen continued to do well throughout the spring and early summer. He was then changed to another home because he had been getting into difficulty and did not get along well with the other boys. The report stated that on July 4 he became very unruly, had a terrible temper tantrum and the foster mother finally refused to keep him longer. These outbursts of temper had been growing more frequent and the foster mother finally felt unable to deal with them. Although the next place was selected with great care, it proved unsatisfactory almost at once and Stephen was tried in a third home. Here he did so well that the agent of the children's society was convinced that he could be tried again at home for the fall term of school.

At Home Again

The mother, in the meantime, had moved to a better apartment with nice airy rooms which were well kept and clean. Stephen was therefore allowed to return to his mother. Almost immediately he began to get into difficulties. He was truant from school, would not go to the doctor when told to, and lied about it when it was called to his attention. He fought with his brother, took an unreasonable attitude and declared that "everybody picked on him and it made him sore." He was sent again for further study to the psychiatrist who had examined him before. This

doctor had a very excellent contact with the boy and a thorough understanding of the problem facing the probation officer. He spent much time on Stephen working to alter his attitude and to get at the truth underneath the boys' misrepresentations. Stephen told the doctor he just couldn't stand it in school. His fondness for street life still held. He was feeding on excitement and always seeking thrills. He was still sensitive about his strabismus and said he could not stand it to wear his glasses. The psychiatrist was also of the opinion that this condition would never be corrected by glasses which the boy refused to wear regularly. Stephen complained bitterly to the doctor that he was treated like a "crook" but this accusation was really without foundation. He resented any attempt at discipline or direction. The doctor felt that he should not have returned to the same neighborhood in Boston with its gangs and street interests. The probation officer tried to get the boy and his crowd to organize a club under the supervision of one of the settlement houses.

The boy's teacher said at this time that he was not a problem in school and was doing good work, except that he was truant and induced other boys to "hook." By October 14 he had had twenty absences but through the efforts of the probation officer the principal readmitted him. Further attempt was made at this point to get an eye operation for Stephen, but the doctors still affirmed their previous opinion that the strabismus was not severe enough to justify it.

A New Foster Home

It was decided when the boy's truancy continued and he was getting very much out of hand in spite of the close attention of the probation officer and of the psychiatrist that further placement would be necessary, the only alternative being commitment to the state school. He was placed again with foster parents about the first of January, 1927. Again reports of his progress are good until the summer

of 1927 when he had a "spell of meanness." This streak of ugliness was traced to Stephen's emotional upset after the death of the oldest son in this foster family to whom he had become much attached. He quieted down again after this outbreak and did very well through the fall. He was allowed home for the Christmas holidays but the stay was made a short one and he returned on the 27th.

In February, 1928, word was received through the agent of the childrens' society that Stephen was not doing well in school, had failed in all his subjects and was behaving badly. He has a young teacher who is very patient with him and he could have made the basketball team if he had not failed in his work. Again he is quite a trial in his foster home, and does not obey until he has worn out the patience of his foster mother. When approached on the subject of his school record, he laughs. He says that the teachers always pass him to get rid of him. When he does choose to do any work, he hands in good papers. He takes a great delight in seeing his chum fail in recitation. The boy is athletic, well developed, and attractive in appearance in spite of his handicap.

He does the farm chores after school but is undependable and rather unwilling, though he works well when supervised and directed. He spends much of his leisure time reading. He is a second-class scout, walks two and a half miles to church, goes to church and school affairs about once a fortnight and is reported very popular at parties. He goes with the better boys in school but has nothing to do with the girls although he is evidently admired by them. One girl gave him a tie for Christmas which attention made him very indignant. He is still a braggart but is courteous, agreeable, witty, keen and quite sensible about many things. He appears to have outgrown somewhat the gang spirit. "He is not the bad boy he used to be," and is reported to have been better since Christmas. He has now been in this one foster home for about fifteen months. It is a farm

about two miles from one of the larger cities. The foster parents have three sons and a daughter who are preparing for professional work. Supervision in the home is strict and careful.

This is Stephen's story up-to-date. Only the long continued patience and forbearance of all who have worked with him have saved this boy from institutional commitment. The present outlook seems quite hopeful although the probation officer says he does not feel they are "out of the woods" yet. It is significant in this case that the boy has never reappeared in court on a new charge since October, 1925. Very close supervision has been necessary and there has been no let-up in the care and attention which the boy has received. There still remains the problem of his strabismus which the probation officer intends to attack again. Stephen is now fifteen years old and may need careful steering for some time yet. He is maturing a little in his understanding and his developing adolescent qualities may be turned to advantage in adjusting and stabilizing him further.

Juvenile Case No. 2

MARY MANLEY

Presented by Edith Dopp

Assistant Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Madison, Wis.

Mary Manley, seventeen years old, lives with her father, step-mother, and two half-sisters, four and six years old. She has been a problem to her family for the past year, failing in her school work and staying away from home all night without letting her people know where she was. On one occasion they found out that she had stayed all night in a cheap hotel and that some boy had paid for the room. Mary is impudent, stubborn and childish in her attitude at home.

Early History of Family

Mr. Manley was married at the age of twenty-two to Margaret Russell, Mary's mother. Four years later, when Mary was three years old, a divorce was granted him on the grounds of his wife's infidelity. Mary and her father went to live with Mr. Manley's mother and two years later, Mary's own mother died.

When the girl was ten years old; her father married Jessie Quinn and since that time, Mary has lived continuously with her father and stepmother. Mr. Manley had been brought up in the Catholic Church, attending parochial school. The second Mrs. Manley is Protestant and takes a very active part in the Lutheran church which she and her two children attend. Mr. Manley does not attend any church now. He left school when he was thirteen and went to work. Now he is a printer who provides a comfortable living for his family. He has a car and owns a home in a fairly good neighborhood. He and his present wife are apparently very compatible. She comes from a substantial,

well-known family in the community and is quite ambitious. She is nervous and tense, more talkative than her husband, and seems to influence him a good deal.

Child's History and Present Situation

Mary was sent to parochial school until she entered high school at the age of fourteen. She did passing work during her first year in high school and showed no behavior problems. The second year she failed in several subjects and the third year she finished only enough work to complete her sophomore year. On the Terman Group Test she had an I. Q. of 107. Three years later, on the same test, her I. Q. was 104.

Mary is attractive in appearance and vivacious in her manner without giving any impression of boldness. She is apparently in good health and there is no record of any serious childhood illnesses. Tests given since contact with the court, show no venereal infection. She makes friends easily with both boys and girls and drops them just as casually. Several of her friends among the girls are older, quite sophisticated and remarkably free from home influence and authority.

Mary was confirmed in the Catholic church but does not attend regularly. She displays some affection for her church but apparently makes no connection between her religious instruction and her social conduct. On one occasion, after spending the entire night in a car with one of her "boy friends," she left him early in order to attend mass.

Mary attributes most of her unhappiness at home to conflict with her stepmother and makes this her excuse for running away from home. She claims that her stepmother will not allow the little half-sisters to associate with her and snubs her when she tries to clean the house and be helpful. Mary idealizes her own mother although she can scarcely remember her and has been told repeatedly that she inherits her bad habits from her mother. Mary is aware

of the fact that her family has about given her up as a failure and she has been reprimanded so frequently that she is more inclined to falsify than to be truthful, even in unimportant matters. She is somewhat irritated at the interest which her family takes in her and compares herself and her situation with that of her many friends who are free from supervision.

Previous Contacts with Social Agencies

Mary had some slight contact with the child guidance department of the public schools, with the Juvenile Protective Association, school attendance officer and with the police department, prior to the time she was referred to the probation office. The Juvenile Protective Association had tried to find some employment for her during her summer vacation and the police department had been appealed to by Mary's father several times when she had stayed away from home at night. However, no intensive work was ever done by any social agency.

Court Record

In September, 1927, after a second runaway escapade, Mary was returned to her home by the police department and the case was referred to the court. At an informal hearing before the judge of the juvenile court, Mary was admonished on the matter of her relationship to her step-mother. Upon promising good behavior, she was sent home with her family. The probation officer was to supervise her informally but no other plan was made although the high school principal refused to allow her to re-enter school. He felt that she was a bad influence on some of the younger girls and that there was little or no chance of re-adjusting her in that school. An appeal was made to an experimental high school (one conducted in connection with the Education Department of the State University) but that principal also refused to admit her.

Mary herself had planned to find work and to attend

part-time vocational school but in a few days she had disappeared again from home. A week later she was located at the room of a girl friend who was employed and neither attending school nor living with her own family. Mary was taken to the Juvenile Protective Association's club house where her father visited her and later decided to take her home with him once more. Mary told of having attended several dances and parties during her absence but gave no reason for not letting her father know her whereabouts. She does not seem to be afraid of her father and has no reason to be as he is very patient and inclined to be indulgent with her.

After remaining at home one day, Mary again disappeared. Four days later, the policewoman found her in a drug store which is a meeting place and social center for a group of her friends. At this time Mr. Quinn, Mary's step-grandfather, interviewed the probation officer and urged that Mary be sent to a correctional institution before her delinquency should become more serious. Quite naturally he did not agree with Mary that most of her unhappiness was the result of her stepmother's attitude. He himself could not refrain from telling the probation officer of a certain Christmas when he had sent Mary a ten-page letter full of kindly advice, together with a box of candy. To his chagrin, Mary had thanked him enthusiastically for the candy and failed even to mention the letter.

The probation officer advised against the commitment but since no other plan was acceptable to the family, a second hearing was held on November 1st, 1927. During this hearing, Mary admitted having had intimate relations with a young man several weeks before, but insisted that this was her first experience of that sort. Three members of the Child Welfare Board, a group of lay women, were present at the hearing and one of them, Mrs. Swenson, offered to take Mary into her farm home for several weeks until some plan could be made for her to enter vocational school

and find suitable employment. Consequently Mary was given a suspended sentence to the state industrial school and was put on temporarily continued probation.

The girl was contented and happy at this home for about a week when she began to worry about getting a job in town. She admitted that she was comfortable there but did not conceal her restless eagerness to return to dances and shows,—a fact which deeply offended Mrs. Swenson, who was also annoyed and disappointed to find that Mary was untruthful about some rather trivial matters.

Mary located a job in a drug store but the probation officer advised against it as that particular place had the reputation of entertaining a rather boisterous group of young people. Instead work was secured for her in a candy store where she was to get \$13 a week. Arrangements were made for Mary to live at the Y. W. C. A. and her father bought her new clothes as most of her belongings were scattered around at the homes of her friends.

After she went to work, Mary seemed to resent the constant daily supervision which Mrs. Swenson insisted on maintaining. Mrs. Swenson telephoned regularly, both to the Y. W. C. A. and to Mary's place of employment, and when the girl started keeping company with a young man of whom she did not approve, she recommended to the court that all of Mary's social privileges be taken away. The probation officer tried to explain that Mary needed companionship and that new and better friends should be found for her. However, Mrs. Swenson again called Mary and threatened to have the suspended sentence to the industrial school enforced. Whereupon Mary promptly disappeared and was not found for several weeks.

It was later learned that she had gone to relatives in Chicago but she was unable to find employment there and soon got homesick; so she returned to the home of a friend where she was arrested on December 12th and once more brought into court, for breaking the conditions of her pro-

bation. At this time, her family allowed her to secure the services of an attorney who secured a stay of sentence on a legal technicality. The case was continued indefinitely and Mary was allowed to return home.

At this point the probation officer arranged to carry out some earlier plans for the girl and on December 23rd, she was examined by a psychiatrist. In his report he says:

"Mary's conflict with her stepmother is distinctly related, first to a certain emotional feeling which she still has for her mother whom she idealized as the years passed even though she did not know her mother well. Secondly, the remarriage of the father gave rise to conflict, especially as soon as the stepmother had children of her own. Mary was ten years old when the father remarried. After about one year with the new family set-up open conflict began. There may have been some jealousy of the girl on the part of the stepmother although the record is not altogether clear on this point, except in one remark of the step-mother to the social worker that she was provoked on one occasion because Mary purchased silk hose at a price double that which she could afford.

"The running away from home is associated with the conflict in the home with the step-mother in the first two instances. In the third instance, it is related to an unfortunate situation which arose when a well meaning woman took the girl into her own home but found that the girl did not live up to her expectations. She made certain remarks about the girl after she had left and traced Mary's movements in a manner which greatly offended and angered her.

"Mary does not respond well to authority but is suggestible in many matters of social adjustment. She responds to confidence placed in her. Under some careful and intelligent supervision she ought to make a fairly good adjustment. She is emotionally immature

and needs badly the aid of a stabilized family situation."

In January, 1928, Mary secured a job as waitress in a good drug store, earning \$13 per week. She arranged to pay her father \$4 a week for board and \$4 a week on back debts which he had paid for her. Her family were pleased with her behavior and she began to keep company with a young man of a better sort, bringing him to her home and keeping more regular hours.

In February Mary's pay was raised to \$15 a week and she made the acquaintance of a new girl friend of whom the family quite approved. She did not enter vocational school as planned, but since she was making good on the job and liked her work, it seemed best not to press the matter at that time.

Early in April Mr. Manley called the probation officer to report that Mary had been away from home all night and had stayed with an older girl with whom she had been asked not to associate. Mary said she was out late and was afraid to come home after midnight. She had been attending about six shows a week but she secures passes for most of them through her father who works on a newspaper.

A week later Mr. Manley called to say that Mary did not come home at all on Sunday night, and on Monday morning she went riding with a young man after getting a girl friend to substitute for her on the job. As a result, the girl friend now has the job and Mary refuses to ask her former employer to take her back.

A few days ago, Mary found another job in a candy store which is connected with a dance hall. Her hours here are very bad and keep her at work until midnight almost every evening. Mary's stepmother seems much more impressed with the fact that Mary carelessly lost her job than with the fact that the girl was out all night. Mr. Manley shows much the same attitude and gives one the impression that he would allow much leeway for Mary socially if she made

good on her job. He would like to have Mary show more interest in her home, but has resigned himself to the fact that her chief interest is in young people and in having a good time at any cost.

Juvenile Case No. 3

THE STEWART TWINS

Presented by A. W. Cline

Superintendent of Public Welfare, Winston-Salem, N. C.

These boys were born May 14, 1911, at Greensboro, N. C., of American parents, Albert and Mary, who are Protestants but not actively identified with the church. The parents came to Winston-Salem when the twins were seven weeks old. At that time, the father was just recovering from smallpox and the babies, who had just been vaccinated, were very weak. It was believed for a while that they would not live, but milk and prepared food was furnished by the Associated Charities. When about a year old, they both had trouble with their teeth and were given free medical care. The father, a heavy drinker for years, did not provide for his family adequately, and the parents finally separated when the twins were twelve years old. Court action for non-support of the family was instituted and the father paid four dollars a week, through the Department of Public Welfare, for about a year. No effort was made to re-establish this home because of the father's utter shiftlessness, and finally he stopped making his weekly allotments. Because of his dissipated condition, no effort was made to bring him back into court. He had already a long record for drunkenness and minor charges growing out of it. The Associated Charities had contributed to the maintenance of this family for many years.

In May 1924, when the juvenile court came in contact with the case, the family was living just outside of the city in a four room house. The mother was healthy and industrious, and worked hard to keep them all together. Besides the twins, there was another boy, Robert, five years older,

who had much influence over his brothers. Robert ran away and joined the army about the time the case came in court and later deserted. One girl, two years younger than the twins, had died at the age of two.

The twins were in the fourth grade, and although they had a fairly good record, were rather dull in school. The truant officer had had some trouble with them because they did not attend regularly. The mother was earning twelve dollars a week in a tobacco factory and her absence from home was a factor in the boys' waywardness.

At this point, the Associated Charities asked for help and advice in placing the boys in a boarding school. A business men's club, recently organized, had asked for an opportunity to do some social work, and the case which came into court unofficially in this way, was referred to them, the Department of Public Welfare and the Associated Charities serving in an advisory capacity. The mother was given twelve dollars a week by the club, which was the wage she was earning in the factory. No mother's aid was available for her.

Everything went well for a few months, but soon complaints were heard that the boys were on the streets too much after school. Both were gifted musically, and they would go from office to office and from building to building singing for the few dimes they could pick up. Churches and societies, learning of their ability to entertain, began to go to the mother requesting that the boys be allowed to appear in public. Small sums of money were collected in this way and turned over to the mother without the knowledge of the supervising club. Because of this complication, the club appealed to the juvenile court in August 1925. The case was not filed officially, but the probation officer in charge of boys had several conferences with the club committee and the boys. The family was visited, the school record was investigated, and the boys were observed on the street. They refused to remain in vacation employment secured

for them a few weeks previous to the filing of the complaint. It was decided to send the boys to a well recommended boarding school and on September 1, 1925, they were placed in Bayview, one hundred and twenty-five miles away in the mountains. This school was recommended particularly because it would give a change of environment and a removal from bad associations. At the time of entering school both boys showed marked delinquent tendencies, the chief of which was untruthfulness. Everything went well for the first year. They spent most of the summer of 1926 at the school, working to supplement the amount paid by the club. They were given two weeks' vacation at home before school opened in the fall.

Very soon after their return in September, John reappeared in Winston-Salem. Long distance telephone communication revealed that he had sold most of the clothing and room furnishings given him by the club and had returned by picking up rides along the way. The principal also reported various delinquencies at school. The probation officer learned from John that he did not want to go to school and would run away if sent back. He had made up his mind to join a road show and stated emphatically that he was going to get his brother away from Bayview to go with him. John was the leader of the two and the one who planned the mischief. The court felt that it was best for the two boys to be separated, so John was committed to the Jackson Training School.

A few weeks later, James appeared in Winston-Salem, having made his way also by picking up rides. He wished to join his brother, John, at the training school, but the court committed him instead to a new state institution for delinquent boys.

Both boys entered these state schools in the sixth grade at the age of fifteen. No mental test had been given them, but they were termed dull by their teachers. John was discharged from the training school last January with an ex-

cellent record, having completed the seventh grade. He was allowed to return home and is now working in the same factory where his mother has been employed for years. Being under parole, he is supervised by the boys' probation officer of the Department of Public Welfare. There is a good future in the work he is doing and he seems to like it. James will be paroled in August of this year, according to a notice from the school. He, too, has made a good record and is to return to his mother and to industry when he is released.

Juvenile Case No. 4

JULIA A.

Presented by Jessie H. Mahan

Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Memphis, Tenn.

I am presenting here a problem unsolved by us, feeling that from this group will come valuable suggestions for our future work with the case.

Preliminary Investigation

Julia, when first seen by us, was fifteen years old. She was brought into court on a charge of assault and battery made by the husband of a woman she had run down when driving an automobile borrowed without permission. She was said to be quick-tempered, disobedient and strong-willed. She used bad language and often had a following on her escapades. Physically we found her in good general condition. Mentally she was up to the average in ability and information. We were unable to get any information about her mother, or her early life, other than that she adored her mother, spoke of her in tender terms, and said that her father was never much good, but that while her mother was alive she kept the family together, and Julia had no trouble getting along in the home. Her mother died of pneumonia when the girl was eleven years of age.

The members of the family at present are the father, one sister seventeen years old, and a brother ten. The father, an electrician by trade, is quick-tempered and a poor provider. He gambles and drinks excessively. He has been married three times, having been divorced from his second wife. Julia states that he lived with his present wife before their marriage. Julia is very fond of her sister, toward whom she assumes a protective attitude because the girl is not strong and sometimes faints. The sister has, however,

deceived Julia a number of times. The brother is apparently normal.

Julia's school record shows conduct generally bad, school work poor, attendance fair. She continually plays truant to attend the movies. The home is poorly furnished and ill-kept. The children are unsupervised during the day. The home-life has been unhappy during the regime of two step-mothers, one of whom is still there. Neighborhood conditions are fair.

Court Action and Recommendations

Julia admitted to the judge that she had driven the car without permission and that she lost her head and hit the woman. She also admitted disobedience and truancy, but seemed quite indifferent about the whole matter, in spite of the fact that the woman was rather badly injured.

The case was taken under advisement, the court to supervise the children, and the follow-up worker to make recommendations.

Probation Treatment

During the period of probation Julia was brought into court ten times on various charges. This period has now extended over three years, and three of her appearances at the detention home were voluntary as she came in and asked for temporary shelter saying she could not get along with her father.

Since the recommendation from the Child Guidance Clinic was that she could do high school work, the probation officer endeavored to make this possible while leaving her in her own home. Failing to adjust there she was tried in the home of an aunt in a distant city, during which time she attended high school and was in the ninth grade. At the end of three months the uncle wired that they could no longer assume responsibility for Julia as she was beyond their control; that she had been truanting, and had attempted to run away with a man and another girl.

She was then tried in a boarding home recommended by the Children's Bureau from which she ran away and returned to the court, saying she had walked thirty-five miles to get there. Her complaint about the boarding home was that it was too quiet and they made her work too hard. After her arrival in town, before coming to the court, she had a very freakish hair cut and appeared at the court with her dress above her knees. Still later she was tried in a state school for dependent children, from which she was removed for insubordination by request of the superintendent.

As it seemed evident that further schooling was impracticable, the recommendation of the clinic as to type of occupation guided the probation officer in securing various jobs. During this period Julia was placed in two girl's clubs from which she ran away. Each time she disappeared from both job and club simultaneously leaving a record of tardiness and unsatisfactory conduct.

As the number of her appearances in court increased, so did the seriousness of the charges. She started drinking and going on all night auto rides and parties with men. A year ago, when she went to the police station and asked assistance in committing suicide, she was recognized and brought to the juvenile court by two officers. At this time she was under the influence of liquor, was resisting the officers and was abusive in her language. Physical examination at this time disclosed that she had had sex contact. She was sent to the Convent of the Good Shepherd where she remained for two months. While she was there the probation officer had her examined by a neurologist who reported that she was normal.

In discussing her own problem, Julia said if she could just control her temper she would have no trouble getting along with people. That she is always so ashamed of her behavior after a display of temper, but she thinks she is

capable of attending her own affairs and wishes both court and family would let her alone.

After her release she was again tried on a different kind of job and sent to a private home to board. The probation officer encouraged her to participate in recreation, such as swimming, gymnasium and group activities at the Y. W. C. A., hoping she would be interested in this wholesome atmosphere and change of companions. Up to this time her friendships had been limited to one girl at a time, of whom she would get extremely fond. Efforts to interest her in church life were unsuccessful.

In about two weeks she again left job and home and soon was arrested in a neighboring town for being drunk and disorderly, and was returned to her father. Several months later she was brought into court for disturbing public worship when she and four companions "rotten-egged" a tent revival and had a hilarious time. While in the detention home she had several temper tantrums, during which she tore the bedclothes in strips and broke all the furniture in sight.

She was returned to the same Convent of the Good Shepherd where she again remained two months, and was released at the request of her father and stepmother who, because of her professed penitence and subdued manner while in the institution, thought they could readjust her in the home. At the end of a month's time the father called at the court to say that Julia had failed to come home one night, and the next day, while they were out she had returned and ransacked the house, and that he had sent her back to the convent where she is at the present time. A recent telephone message states that a new physical examination resulted in a four-plus Wassermann.

The Negro Boy

The Reverend T. O. Fuller, D.D.

President of Howe College, Memphis, Tenn.

The Negro boy bears the same relationship to his group as the boys of other races bear to their groups. He demands the same attention and the same interest, not for his own good alone, but for the welfare of the community in which he lives. The Negro boy is influenced by the same conditions that affect all boys, and is therefore entitled to similar safeguards and protection.

Agencies whose work it is to aid boys in reaching their highest possibilities should include the Negro boy among their responsibilities.

The Negro's Rightful Heritage

The Negro boy should begin life under the best possible conditions. He should be well born. He should have the benefits of legitimate parentage and normal surroundings. The Negro boy who has not had the advantage of wholesome pre-natal influences will be handicapped from the beginning and experience great difficulty in reaching his desired possibilities. Too often children born under unfavorable conditions develop emotions which strive for expression and are not easily controlled. They are therefore fettered with harmful and distracting predispositions and life for them becomes a great struggle.

Not only should the Negro boy have the advantage of legitimate parentage, but he should be nurtured in a comfortable and well-ordered home. This does not suggest wealth and luxury, but it does suggest ample space for the housing of parents and the children of different sexes, so that there may not arise in the minds of the children notions and ideas which will be injurious to them.

What a True Home Is

The real home is an altar of love and devotion between husband and wife, parents and children. Each seeks the happiness and welfare of the other. The children are the central object of domestic concord. "Home is the grandest of all institutions," says Spurgeon; "the seminary of all other institutions," says Chapin; "the chief school of human virtues and the nursery of the Infinite," says Channing. The home provides not only parental love but parental restraint. It not only furnishes food, shelter and clothing, but it is the place where proper discipline is administered. When we speak of discipline, we do not mean merely correctional or corporal punishment. The traits and disposition of the boy should be watched and studied by one who loves him and will not withhold such correction as may be necessary for his proper training. This cannot be well done where the supervision is not intelligent. The mother is the first teacher. She cannot teach, however, what she does not know. Love is good and powerful, but it is neither the master of ignorance nor a proper substitute for intelligence. The Negro boy needs an intelligent, well-trained mother who understands the perils as well as the opportunities confronting him and can guide his young life along proper channels, directing its unfolding with a tender heart and an intelligent head.

The Duty of Parents

Parents should be vigilant in helping their sons conquer or control evil tendencies before they grow into habits. Some habits help in the formation of character. Reading, politeness, obedience and the like may become habits and important factors in developing the character of the boy. There are bad habits, however, which injure health; destroy reputation; disgrace or dishonor the family; lead to the waste of time and money and take away self-control. Such a habit as gambling incurs needless risks and is not

only hurtful to the individual but offensive to others. The intelligent mother may help her boy to avoid bad habits by keeping him engrossed with that which is helpful and wholesome. This is not only a plea for universal education, which will make possible intelligent mothers for Negro boys, but it is a plea for Christian education which will enable us to see life in its larger relationships.

The Three Purposes of Discipline

The Negro boy needs discipline,—directive, corrective and constructive. Directive discipline points the way to virtue and honor. It offers attractions that are encouraging and inspiring. It provides exercise of the physical energies which will help to make the boy an industrious and useful member of the home. It trains him for service in the larger field which he is soon to enter. Boys cannot thrive on "negatives" alone. They should be told what to do as well as what not to do. They need a positive and affirmative outline of activities in the home,—a division of labor which assigns for performance certain tasks and duties. In this way industry becomes a habit and serves a good purpose throughout life. Corrective discipline is also very important in the training of a boy. Early in life, boys should learn that pains and penalties follow misconduct and disobedience. If the boy is not taught to respect rules and regulations in the home, he will go forth in the community breaking the rules which govern society and violating the laws of the land without fear of the consequences, thereby becoming a bad citizen and possibly an outlaw.

Recently I visited a home for the detention of delinquent Negro boys. They were of very tender years but had committed such crimes as housebreaking; stealing automobiles; burning children, and rape. Only one of the group could recall the name of a minister of the gospel. This indicated that they had been out of touch with the best influences. They had been given neither directive nor corrective disci-

pline and were almost confirmed criminals while yet in their early teens.

Negro boys need constructive discipline. They need training which compels thinking and leads to the doing of things that demand careful execution. They need to be taught to see a thing in all of its phases. Those who train in crime are constructive in their methods. They anticipate the various reactions of their victims and make provision for miscarriage of their schemes. Negro boys need training as effective as this in things that are good for them. Few Negro boys among the masses enjoy homes in which such training is found. In many cases, both father and mother are wage earners. In their homes there is often neither comfort for the boy nor supervision and restraint. The boy is left to himself, a prey to the evils that are inevitable. A Negro boy was on trial in a certain criminal court for some violation of the law. The judge was in the act of passing sentence upon him. The mother of the boy was at work in a kitchen not far away. She heard of the trial and without taking time to prepare herself properly, rushed into the courtroom, pushed through the crowd, dodged the sheriff and confronted the judge to the astonishment of the court. "What do you want?" asked the judge. She answered, "Judge, this is my boy, he has not had a chance. I have taken all of my time attending to other folks' children and neglected my own. If you will give him back to me, I shall find some way to keep him with me. I shall send him to school and carry him to church." The plea had its effect. The judge gave the mother her boy, together with a problem that she found difficulty in solving.

In the dense forests of a southern state there resided a man and woman in common-law relations. They lived a primitive life. Their home consisted of an overhanging rock which formed a side and part of the roof. Saplings formed the other sides and completed the roof. Beneath the rock was a spring of good water. Their food was fish and

wild game. They supplemented this by encroaching on the property and rights of others. Into this rugged home, two boys were born. The boys were reared in the manner of the animals upon which they subsisted. There was no parental tenderness; no orderly exercise or restraint; no church; no school; no helpful contact with other children. When the voices or footsteps of human beings were heard, the children ran to cover like the wild animals around them. The march of civilization in time focused attention on the forest and exposed this wild retreat. The human beings we have just discussed were forced to face conditions for which they were wholly unprepared. They had not been softened by association with others; they were strangers to sympathy, to law and the sacred rights of property. The knife and the gun were their trusted friends. Civilization soon became a burden to them. It limited their freedom of action and they revolted.

The "Tanner boys," as the sons became known, ignored the rights of property, committed crime and murder, and became desperate outlaws and a menace to society. They were arrested but refused to submit to the orderly procedure of the courts. When last I saw them they were hanging to the limbs of a tree. They lived like vicious animals and died a horrible death. The boys were born, cradled and reared in the wilds of the forest, without legitimate parentage and without a well-ordered home.

The Evils of Alley Life

The Negro boy in the cities suffers the evils of alley life, as well as the disadvantages of congestion in housing. Alley life is not only insanitary, but its contacts are dangerous to morals and good citizenship. Alleys are usually the hiding places of those who violate the law. Many good people have moved into the alleys for economic reasons. Their wages are small and they hope to save a few dollars in rent by living in the alley. The love of home is one of the

best and most restraining influences known to civilization. Boys crowded in alleys and congested tenements take little pride in their home life. They find other places more attractive. They join street gangs whose headquarters are in box cars, caves and unoccupied houses, and soon a group of youthful criminals fills the dockets of the juvenile courts. Disregard of the housing regulations for commercial reasons is responsible in a large measure for much of the delinquency among Negro boys in our cities.

The Value of Public Schools

The Negro boy needs the strength and influence of a good modern public school system. The public school is the state's first effort to make good citizens. The school aims to teach the young the duties, obligations and responsibilities of citizenship and the benefits to be derived therefrom. The school cultivates the social spirit, in an effort to enable the individual to live happily with others in the community. Education draws out and develops the powers of the mind. It increases self-respect and lays the foundation for patriotism. It awakens the consciousness of the individual and enables him to think intelligently. The Negro boy needs education. Its processes should be compulsory in his case as well as in the case of the boys of other groups. It is often charged that compulsory school laws are not rigidly applied to Negro children. This should not be the case. The ignorant Negro boy is a burden to himself as well as to the community. It is to no one's advantage that he be denied proper school facilities and kept ignorant and inefficient. Grammar school training is needed today for ordinary labor. The bootblack, the bell boy, the redcap and the coal cart driver all need some degree of education for their occupations. Too often the facilities for Negro education are inadequate. Sometimes, the school term is short, the school building is in poor condition, if not insanitary, the teachers are poorly paid, immoral, inefficient as to

training and lacking in the teaching spirit. All of these things react upon the attitude and spirit of the boys. Under such conditions Negro boys cannot be expected to properly interpret their relations to life nor make suitable contribution to the welfare of the community in which they live. In the long run, society pays the price for the neglect of these boys in juvenile delinquency, in restricted development, or in other ways that are equally detrimental and expensive.

The Need of Clean Communities

The Negro boy needs a clean community in which to live and develop. There is not enough attention paid to a Negro neighborhood. Often it is not sufficiently lighted, the streets are rough and unimproved, and the whole place is dingy and unattractive. When an effort is made to buy property in other sections with good lights, clean and improved streets and other attractive surroundings, motives quite foreign to the rightful ones are assigned to this desire to change residence. The dark streets not frequently used by the general public, known as the Negro section, attract the rough and vicious elements. Petting parties seek places where they may sit in darkened cars, bold in their disregard of decent conduct, thereby helping to make the neighborhood unfit for the rearing of children. The Negro boy has more freedom of movement than the girl. This gives him more opportunities to become contaminated by what he sees and hears in the streets. The Negro boy needs a cleaner field of thought. His outlook and his environment need cleaning up by a more definite and effective enforcement of the laws. Too often the Negro is used as a lookout and a tool or agent for business that operates in defiance of the law. In this way he is schooled, protected and directed in channels which lead to his ruin. Youthful criminals become gang leaders and debauch boys who come from the best of our families. The juvenile court could and does render a splendid service in keeping these boys in check

and limiting if not destroying their influence over good boys. What the boy sees he discusses and will likely imitate. The slang phrases, suggestive songs and questionable conduct quickly find their way into the habits and lives of boys. They make a strong appeal to youth.

Supervised Recreation

The Negro boy needs wholesome supervised recreation. Children have a great deal of leisure. What takes place during leisure is said to determine character. Recreation in the home, commercial recreation and free recreation in parks and playgrounds,—all need direction and supervision if not censorship. Speaking of commercial recreation, I am reminded of a boy taken into my own home to aid a mother who was compelled to work for her family's support. At breakfast, I said, "Johnnie, what do you expect to be when a man?" He answered unhesitatingly, "A robber." I was astonished. "What do you know about robbing?" I asked. He said, "I should put two pistols on a man and say 'hands up.' I should then go through his pockets and get his money. While he had his hands up I should take a train for Arkansas." "Where did you learn about this?" I asked. "At a picture show," he said. He was only seven years old. I was more impressed than ever as to the importance of censoring commercial recreation.

It is possible for boys to be corrupted in their own homes when they are left to invent their own methods of recreation. Commercial recreation should be closely watched, lest it run wild. It usually increases its thrill in order to increase its attractiveness for economic reasons. Boys often crowd around the doors of the movies. It would not be amiss to investigate attractions of this sort. Some types of commercial recreation furnish schools where crime is not only taught but illustrated in the most suggestive manner. Hundreds if not thousands of Negro boys have been led into criminal paths by commercial recreation. Coming from

homes where there is no restraint and no one to interest or instruct them while the mother is absent earning the daily bread, the boys often spend their entire days in show houses, their nights in the company of lawless gangs, until they are debauched and ruined. Free recreation furnishes a safety retreat for the Negro boy if it is supervised efficiently and tactfully. Where the latter is true, attempts are made to vary and increase the attraction and to make the appeal to the boy colorful and strong. No other groups need free recreation in playgrounds and parks more than the Negro boy. The comforts of his home are limited. His house is apt to be too small for indoor play. The front yard is often the sidewalk, and the backyard dangerously near the bayou or too limited in area to provide for outdoor play. In the streets the boys congregate without direction or correction. I have seen Negro boys play "snatching pockets",—"holding up" each other with improvised guns and other games which might react unfavorably upon conduct and character. Why wonder that our juvenile delinquency is on the increase? Laws should be strictly enforced in regard to alleys and congested tenements. Dark residential sections where Negroes live should be lighted; streets improved and the places made clean and inviting. Ample school facilities with compulsory attendance should be provided. Teachers should be carefully selected and adequately paid. Violators of the law should not be allowed to make tools of Negro boys. Playgrounds and parks should be numerous and attractive. Commercial recreation should not be allowed to debauch their lives. Negro boys should be made to feel that they are the material out of which real manhood is made and upon which the country depends for moral and financial support.

The proper sympathetic handling of the Negro boy will sweeten his spirit and materially affect his attitude toward other groups. It will cause him to love his community and the government. When proof of his patriotism is demanded

he will respond willingly with a deep devotion to the aims and purposes of his country.

The Negro boy is an American boy with the American spirit. He will be delighted to be included in any program which will mean the development of his possibilities and will enable him to play well his part in the great drama of American life and progress.

The Negro Today

The Reverend Sutton Griggs, D. D.

Memphis, Tenn.

We are hearing much of the new Negro today. Let us compare the following tributes to the Negroes. Of the Negroes of the past, George W. Ellis, in his book "Negro Culture in West Africa," says:

"The Negroes of the Gold Coast manufactured gold wire chains so fine that they can scarcely be imitated abroad. The steel chains of the Monbuttoo Negroes are comparable with similar productions of Europeans."

Peschel says of the modern African Negro: "the Negroes in Bambara, Bambook, and Bornu not only make gunpowder but secure the saltpetre in their own country. The Negroes build bridges that are greater than were those of the Germans in the time of Tacitus. Unaffected by foreign influences many Negro tribes have risen in Africa above the level of the Britons whom Caesar saw. Some of them manufacture soap, and in portions of Sokoto they have courts paved with mosaic. Many products of the Mandingan art have occasioned the most favorable comment.

"The Zambesi and Congo peoples originated empires and republics, which have complex governmental machinery. Unaided, Uyoro Negroes developed a government the administration of which included the collection of taxes and the appointment of subgovernors. Their industry found expression in art, agriculture, architecture, and good clothes. In the great states of the Dahomey and Ashantee, Negro civilization attained considerable heights. It is said the high quality of the Dahoman culture drew words of commendation from so able an authority as Herbert Spencer. A Negro, by the name of Soni Heli Ischia, established across Africa

an empire three thousand miles in length, extending on one side from Timbuctoo to Abyssinia, and on the other to the sea.

"In this great Negro land powerful states and dynasties rose and fell, their universities sent out Negro professors whose scholarship astonished the most learned men in the intellectual centers of Morocco, Tunis and Egypt."

A writer of the white race says of the American Negro of today,—

"About 5,000 patents testify to the colored man's genius. Granville Wood deserves credit for basic inventions on the telephone. Elijah McCoy discovered the system of locomotive lubrication, and Matzeliger invented the first machine to make a complete shoe. Dr. George F. Grant invented the oblate plate used in dentistry. Dr. Daniel H. Williams performed the first successful operation on the human heart. George W. Carver, of Tuskegee, has developed 165 by-products of the peanut and 115 by-products of the sweet potato. Some of the latter include synthetic rubber, black paint, white flour, syrups and ginger. From the peanut he produced milk, buttermilk, butter, salad oil, cheese, face lotions, inks and dyes. From Georgia clay he produced colors which have baffled scientists. Carver is known on two continents, and belongs to the British Royal Society of Arts.

"In more esthetic pursuits the Negro has also advanced. He began by giving us our only real American music. Then came the 'Black Swan' of 1861, the jubilee singers of Fisk University in 1870, Flora Batson in 1887, 'Black Patti' and Roland Hayes, who is now singing before the best audiences in Europe. In sculpture the Negro has given us Edmonia Lewis, Meta Warrick, Fuller and Jackson. Great painters are Scott, Tanner, Bannister, Boykin and Brown. Ira Aldridge has been decorated by nearly every important country of Europe. At present Charles Gilpin is one of our greatest tragedians. In literature there are the poets Wheat-

ley and Dunbar. DuBois is said to have written the best English ever produced by a Harvard graduate. There are also the historians Williams, Woodson and Brawley. William Stanley Braithwaite is a literary critic of reputation."

With such attainments in the past and the present, what is the problem with the colored race? It is not physical, nor mental, nor wholly economic. It is psychological.

The matter has not received heretofore adequate attention. Professor Floyd Henry Allport of Syracuse University says, "The psychological differences between races are just beginning to attract the attention of scientists."

H. G. Wells says, "The psychology of nations is still but a rudimentary science. Psychologists have scarcely begun to study the citizen-side of the individual man." Here we have the crux of the whole matter,—"The citizen-side of the individual."

Not all colored people are of the same stock, any more than all white people are. Nathaniel S. Shaler says, "It may, however, be said that while we know little of this matter, except through the doubtful criteria of language, it is evident that the variety of the people is great, and that under the common aspect given by their dark color, peculiar hair, and somewhat similar features there is hidden much wider ranging diversities than separate the European stocks. The range of the variations is probably greater than what holds apart the Aryan and American Indian, for it includes such extremes as the feeble pigmies of the central part of the African continent, probably the nearest akin of any existing forms to the primitive human, and the sturdy tribes such as the Basutas and the Zulus, who in mere vigor of mind and body are fit to be compared with the European peoples."

The Citizen Attitude

The colored people then, being of different stocks, have in their ranks some who have the citizen mind. Permit me to give you an illustration of this citizen attitude. A bee-

hive once caught fire. The females of the hive being citizens with the citizen attitude, drew together and began to beat their wings. They started a current of air which put out the fire. While they were doing that, the males who were not citizens did not move. They made no effort whatever to put out the fire. They did not have the citizen attitude.

The trouble with our people is that we do not have among us enough people with the fundamental social attitude. There are citizens among us who have a deep regard for the general welfare; who are concerned with things in general and whose interests are not self-centered. But we do not have as many of this type as we should.

The great problem which takes precedence over all other problems is the problem of citizenizing the mind, of getting into the mind a distinct citizen attitude. In order to do this, both the white and the colored people must get away from the thought that the intellectual training which is building up the white race is sufficient and adequate for the colored race. The Negro of yesterday was intellectual; the Negro of today is intellectual. Our weaknesses are not along intellectual lines.

Our Failures in Social Lines

Nathaniel S. Shaler, in trying to account for our failure to advance along social lines, makes the statement that for a period of 8,500 years before the coming of Christ to 1,500 years afterwards, the races of Europe and Asia were commingling and taking on their social characteristics. The Sahara Desert served to bar the colored people from Europe and Asia and kept them from acquiring social traits. They are in consequence more individualistic and solitary in their dispositions, than the white race.

The Negro was brought into America and reared in the midst of a system where social traits predominate. Henry Bass Hall says that the foundations of all governments

are psychological. The foundations of this American government are psychological. We may bring the colored man into this country and give him the clothes, language, and religion of the country, but if we fail to give him the psychology upon which this country is built he will not be able to function efficiently.

Lynching

In the year in which this country's attention was first called to lynching by assembled statistics, it was found that more white men were lynched than colored. The white people had the wisdom to come together and move public sentiment with the result that the lynching of white men decreased until now it has almost disappeared. The white people of the South have done much also to eliminate the lynching of colored men. Their churches, their governors, their newspapers have all entered protests against it. If we as Negroes lack the unity of spirit which suppresses jealousies and recognizes leadership; if we lack the understanding which will enable us to harness this public sentiment, naturally the lynching evil will abide with us in spite of all that has been done to eliminate it.

Lynchings are decreasing because they have struck the second line of defense. The American government is built upon the principle that any group directly affected by a particular condition will come together, cooperate, appeal to the public mind and so eliminate the evil. But where those directly affected do not come together and do not cooperate as they should, there the evil abides until it moves over to the second line of defense. Lynchings began to harm the South. They caused Negroes to leave this section of the country. They gave the South a bad name. The second line of defense,—the white man,—was affected, public sentiment was aroused, and as a result lynchings are on the decrease.

The Needs of the Negro

The Negro in Africa evolved a government in keeping with his mental attitudes. We are now here in a country which is the product of other attitudes. The problem before us is not that of acquiring knowledge from America, but of acquiring mental attitudes which make for cooperative living in America.

In my opinion, one of the most important elements in the psychology of America is that of seconding. I was standing at a window when I saw a small ant catch a large fly. I thought the ant was foolish to attempt to hold the fly. Later I understood his act better. He knew ant psychology and fly psychology. He knew that if another ant came his way and saw what he was doing he would help him. Sure enough, as I stood there, six ants came and took hold of the fly. There were hundreds of thousands of flies in the store but not one came to help the member of their family in distress.

Every colored man who has amounted to anything in this country has been brought into prominence by white people. Not that his own race didn't appreciate him and understand him, but it did not possess the "seconding" impulse. For example, Frederick Douglas was only an ordinary African Methodist preacher. His people heard him speak from time to time. He lived his life up to a mature age among them. It never occurred to them to get behind Douglas and make anything more out of him. One day when he came from his work wearing his carpenter's clothes, he walked into an anti-slavery meeting and spoke. Some white men who had the "seconding attitude" heard him, took him up and made him famous.

There was a time when Booker T. Washington wasn't recognized among us. One of our leading citizens told me that when Washington came to Memphis and he went to a church to hear him, he had to wear his overcoat. The colored people disliked Washington and would have noth-

ing to do with him. They wouldn't even make a fire to warm the place in which he spoke. In Atlanta, Georgia, Booker T. Washington made known his views to a people who had the seconding tendency. While as a race we furnished his blood and his bone, the white people really made him, got behind him, told the world of his virtues, and now we appreciate fully his worth.

Then there is the case of the singer who has come recently into notice,—Roland Hayes. He sang among us but we did not get behind and push him. This doesn't mean that colored people are mean and hard. It doesn't mean that we didn't appreciate his singing, but just as the male bees stand by and look on while the females put out a fire in the hive, we stand by and see a fellow struggling, and say, "Well, he has a hard time but it is his job to put himself over."

I do not mean to say that seconding does not exist in our race, but it does not exist as abundantly as it should. One of the greatest things the white man has done for the Negro is to hold up our people of ability until we were able to appreciate their worth. Except for their acts, almost all our leaders would have been destroyed.

Another example of neglect on our part is evidenced in the case of Paul Lawrence Dunbar. We were proud of him but we left him to run an elevator until William Dean Howells saw his poetry and commented upon it and then we began to back him.

There may be some who think that I ought to be spending my time tonight in praising my people. You have come here, I take it, to study the diseases of society. You are not a mutual admiration society. I know that my people have tender hearts. I know that my people have great minds. I know that my people can do wonderful things, but it is nevertheless true that we do not display the social attitudes and traits which we should display as a race. It is my opinion

that the colored people of this country will have trouble until we acquire the right social attitudes.

There are some people who may ask if a new psychology can be acquired. You can not come out of Africa with the African psychology which has produced African governments and function effectively in this country. As we threw away the African language, and customs, so we must throw away the African attitude and apply the psychology of America if we are to live in this country.

What are the needs of the Negro today? We need the sympathy of the white people of this country. We need kindergartens and schools which will specialize, not so much in giving the children the history of America, but in giving them its psychology. Our schools should seek to work such social changes in our children as will make them good citizens.

The white people are affected by our lack of cohesiveness. Memphis is paraded to the world as the greatest murder center on earth but this is due in large measure to the contribution that the Negro killer makes to the statistics. It is our duty to so arouse public sentiment in our midst that we may cut down this deathrate and give our city a better name.

I hope you will all understand that what I am saying is out of profound love for my people. I hate very much to see them suffer wrong. I hate very much to see them suffer disadvantages. I am willing to make every sacrifice to enable them to attain their desires, but I realize that if we go at it in the wrong way we shall never get anywhere. I am willing to stand on the unpopular side and proclaim the truth until the truth is heard and our people see the truth and work along the line which leads to success.

We had a preacher at one time by the name of Reverend George W. Lee. He said that on a trip to Europe he spent his time walking about the deck of his ship grumbling. He didn't like his quarters; he didn't like his food; nothing

pleased him. But every night when he got down on his knees he prayed that the old ship wouldn't sink. There are many things about American life which as colored people we do not like. There are many wrongs as all of you will admit which are inflicted on us from time to time, but I think I speak the sentiment of the Negro today when I say: first of all, that we recognize hardships and dissatisfaction to be the common lot of the American people. No group is fully satisfied. Every group is working for improvement. I wish to say that we do not blame the better element of white people. There are some white people who are just as much hurt and pained when things go wrong for us as we are. Although we may at times not be able to act as we should, I wish to assure you that just as we have mastered other things, the clothing, the speech, the religion of this country, so shall we keep on until we have mastered your psychology. This does not mean that we shall imitate you. We shall take only those qualities which will enable us to get along in this country. For all other things we shall stick to our own genius.

The Rational Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency*

The Honorable Charles W. Hoffman

Judge, Domestic Relations Court, Cincinnati, Ohio

There are groups of children among us who have been neglected "from time immemorial"—as the legal phrase goes. Until quite recently, public and private agencies failed to protect the delinquent child, and prevent him from entering a criminal career. Even now children afflicted with conduct disorders have no assurance of receiving the treatment that modern medicine, psychiatry and education demand. The conception that they might not be "free agents" nor proper subjects for strict discipline and punishment, had little place in social work, the law or the courts, prior to 1899 or 1900.

Tracing cause and effect in the scientific sense was not accepted as a policy in the handling of either juvenile or adult offenders. The treatment of erring children was based chiefly on medieval notions of conduct and erroneous assumptions of responsibility that have no counterpart in reality. It was not until the publication of Dr. William Healy's "Individual Delinquent," some years after the first juvenile court law was enacted, that the scientific method found a definite place in the procedure of children's courts and eventually in the program of the schools and social agencies. If the criminal courts, with their skilled methods and their technique, have not been able to distinguish between error and truth to the same extent as have the juvenile courts since the publication of Healy's book, it is because the same principle of "cause and effect" has not

* Address at the Annual Luncheon of the Board of Directors of the National Probation Association, New York, N. Y., Jan. 19, 1928.

been applied in their adoption of rules of procedure, nor in the enactment of the laws that they administer.

The Aim of the Courts

The ostensible aim of both the juvenile court and the adult criminal court is the preventing of delinquency and crime and the decreasing of antisocial conduct. Protection for the innocent victims of law-breakers today has stirred the emotions not only of the public at large, but particularly of those who believe that this can be accomplished only by a change in the legal procedure of the criminal courts. All scientific criminologists are in sympathy with any changes in procedure that the legalists may suggest which would tend toward the prevention of delay in the hearing of cases, the certainty of conviction and the infliction of the penalty prescribed by statute. If these ends can be obtained it will then be possible to evaluate the process, and definitely determine if it does in fact deter potential criminals from the commission of crime, or have any other effect than that of preventing—perhaps for a brief season only—the man who has been already convicted from breaking the law again. Is it not anomalous that in this day of enlightenment and culture no comprehensive scientific plan has been suggested for ascertaining if the criminal procedure does reach the sources of crime, or have any effect as a deterrent agent? All that can be said of this point in the absence of verified facts is purely speculative.

It is generally held by the psychiatrists, psychologists and other men of science that the antisocial conduct manifested in adult life has its origin in childhood, except in a certain percentage of cases in which an organic ailment is present. This generalization is founded on so great an array of facts that its truth appears to be conclusive. It seems clear that it can not be disregarded by either state or national crime commissions in the formulation of any plan for the better protection of life and property.

The Law Breakers

In a report submitted to the National Crime Commission by Dr. Louis N. Robinson it is stated: "An investigation in two of the leading cities of Missouri revealed the fact that whereas information had been laid before the police concerning some fourteen thousand major felonies, arrests had followed in only eight per cent of the cases. It was shown further that a total of only three per cent had been found, or had plead, guilty. To trust in the efficacy of punishing severely the three per cent while allowing the ninety-seven per cent to escape scot-free would scarcely appeal to an European as an example of our boasted efficiency or our hard common sense." The statistics mentioned in this report correspond with the statistics available on the subject in other localities. The most significant fact which they present is that only three per cent of those who commit major offenses are convicted and punished.

It is an evident and unwarranted presumption to hold that society can be protected against such a host of law-breakers merely by minor changes in the selection of juries, the admission or exclusion of certain evidence or the imposition of punishment. Under the present system of criminal procedure it is doubtful if it will ever be possible to secure jurors in criminal cases who in all events will be free from emotionalism and prejudice. Granting, however, that convictions and not acquittals will be the rule, is there any guarantee that more executions and the filling of our already over-crowded reformatories and penitentiaries will relieve the criminal situation? It is of capital importance that all law-breakers be apprehended, brought into court and convicted; it is of greater importance, however, that after conviction the offender be disposed of in a way that will prevent his committing another offense. A study of the criminal himself, therefore, is imperative, not only for the purpose of treating his particular case but, in the light of our present scientific knowledge, for the greater purpose of

ascertaining some of the factors that make for delinquency and crime. It will then be possible for the legalists and the crime commissions to determine what changes in the law will meet the needs of both the individual and society. Even if all of the 14,000 who committed felonies in the two Missouri cities were apprehended, convicted and punished, it would not prevent another group of 14,000 offenders now in the making from committing crimes in adult life.

The most reliable material or data on crime and criminals accessible to the American bar and the crime commissions is that in the records of the probation departments of Massachusetts and New York or other states. In these organizations the fiction of the criminal as an "average man" so well described by Dr. White at a meeting of the American Bar Association, does not obtain. The law is administered on a factual basis. The life histories contained in the case records of hundreds of offenders placed on probation reveal the fact that in childhood and early youth they were the victims of neglect, ignorance and misunderstanding.

Training in Childhood

The youth of adult criminals who have persistently violated the law and imperiled life and property will be found on investigation and research identical in experience with that of delinquent youths under the ages of 18 years brought into court for the violation of some law or ordinance. A study of the records of adult probation will further demonstrate that a great percentage of those who have committed grave offenses might have been saved from entering criminal careers had they received proper care and treatment in the early days of their childhood and youth when delinquent traits were first manifested. It appears always that the attempt "to cure criminals and prevent crime" years after any change in the personality or mental make-up of the offender is possible, is in the nature of an

ex post facto proceeding, and unproductive of any real or permanent results.

The problem of crime and antisocial conduct is in all its aspects most comprehensive and complex. Its solution will not be found solely in the enactment of any repressive or retributive law or ordinance. Its solution involves the whole field of child rearing, child training and child welfare. Not one agency, such as a court, but all the social and civic agencies of the community and state, both private and public, must direct all their resources to the conservation of unfortunate and afflicted childhood. It is then that we shall have made a beginning in "criminal reform."

From this viewpoint I shall submit a few brief observations relating to the spirit and purpose of juvenile court acts and the contribution rendered by the juvenile court in "making public" certain basic causes and factors of delinquency and crime and the means available for meeting them.

It is not extraordinary that the criminal law in operation failed to meet the real needs of a child. University schools of law have always been vocational institutions engaged in preparing lawyers for the work of advising clients and carrying on litigation in the courts. In pointing this out, Professor Walter M. Cook of Yale University says that it is not his intention to belittle the importance of the work done by existing law schools, but merely to state a fact.* Lawyers and lawmakers as such have not been interested until recently in either social or legal scientific research. It was not until 1923 that the American Institute of Law was organized for the purpose of adapting the law to social needs. In the absence of research, investigation and diagnosis in children's cases, the courts in the administration of the criminal law unconsciously, perhaps, jeopardized the childhood of our country. This was finally realized by a few

* Scientific Method and the Law; American Bar Association Journal, June, 1927.

individuals and societies interested in child welfare. Supported by public sentiment and approval, they succeeded in having the juvenile court established and the children's codes enacted in practically every state in the Union which abolished criminal procedure and provided facilities for saving children marked by dependency and delinquency. Under the sanction of these "acts" the state thus definitely entered the field of social work for the purpose of aiding, or rather supplementing, the work of the social agencies, the schools, institutions and individuals that dealt with aberrant children. It cooperated with them in protecting children from the destructive and fatal forces of ignorance, superstition, hate and revenge.

Law Enforcement of the Past

Previous to the organization of the juvenile court the viewpoint of the schools, the social agencies and the courts were identical. It was the common belief that delinquency could be prevented and cured by a direct method which included force, admonition, threats and infliction of pain or punishment in the form of whipping or imprisonment in penal and semi-penal institutions. The indirect scientific method of dealing with the behavior of children was unknown, or if known was never applied. Social workers made no particular search for origins that might be of use in both prevention and cure. They were interested only in relieving present distress or in protecting the community by segregating difficult cases, irrespective of their mental and physical condition.

The school systems of the past, like those of the courts, took no notice of the mental health of children. Truancy was a transgression of school regulations and in most states a transgression of the law. In cases so great in number as to be astounding, both truant children and their parents have been subjected to what in the light of modern science may be termed "cruel and unjustifiable judgments." Even

today in some jurisdictions parents are frequently in a state of terror lest their children be brought up for truancy. Courts in some jurisdictions have adopted the policy of holding parents absolutely responsible for the acts of their children. While it is true that parents should always be compelled to meet their obligations to their children, yet it is imperative that to avoid mistaken judgments the degree of parents' responsibility for the behavior of their children be definitely known. In disposing of a case of truancy either in the courts or in the schools, causation cannot be disregarded without probable injustice to both parents and child.

Truancy

As the juvenile court, the social agencies, the school and the home have a common objective in respect to truancy, retardation and delinquency, it is clear that the same treatment must be used, irrespective of the individual or institution that handles these cases. The technique developed by a juvenile court in the diagnosis and treatment of delinquency must necessarily be the same as that of the schools or any other institution dealing with the same subject matter. It is too commonly supposed that the juvenile court is intended to administer punitive justice. Probably this conception is responsible for having created in many jurisdictions a differentiation of the court's purpose from that of the schools and thus prevented the cooperation without which a juvenile court cannot possibly function in any community as other than a police court.

In a recent case in the Court of Appeals of a certain district of Ohio, a judge stated that in view of the past record of the work of the court, the juvenile court principle ought not to be extended. He then proceeded to discuss suspension of sentence, parole and other incidents of the criminal procedure, which have nothing in common with a juvenile court. This indicates beyond a doubt that if the juvenile courts have not fulfilled their mission it is solely

because their judges and the American bar have misconstrued their purpose by holding that the court is at least semi-penal in nature.

When the teacher or the social worker is confronted with a behavior problem there is seldom, if ever, a formal hearing of testimony, no witnesses are sworn, no recriminations are made, there are no suggestions or threats of imprisonment in an industrial school or any other institution. The child is not branded and made an outcast of society, and no particular stigma is attached either to parents or child.

This in every detail should be substantially the procedure of the juvenile courts. In fact, in some states this procedure is made mandatory on the judges and their probation officers and associates both by the letter and spirit of the law. And it is only because of their failure to recognize this procedure that the judges of the appellate courts and, to a certain extent, the public misinterpret the purposes of children's courts and criticize them for their leniency as well as for inefficiency in protecting life and property.

It is evident that it is not the system of the juvenile court that has failed—if the court has failed at all. Its defects are those of administration. If children have not been prevented from finding their way to industrial schools and reformatories, and sometimes to penitentiaries, it can be attributed to no other factor than that the courts persistently attempt a child's rehabilitation or reformation by a quasi-criminal procedure, rather than by the tried and accredited scientific methods of the schools and social agencies.

A study of the causes of delinquency, retardation and truancy reveals at once that the work of the court and that of the schools cannot be differentiated except in a few minor, non-essential particulars. If it happens that parents are unwilling to provide their child with necessary treatment and care, it is the court's function to hear the parties and determine the issue and, in proper cases, transfer the

guardianship from the parent to the state. The child thus becomes a ward of the state and is entitled to the same care and consideration from the state that teachers and parents normally give to children.

It cannot be presumed that there will ever be a time when the intervention of a court in children's cases will not be necessary, yet it can be predicted with a high degree of certainty that increase in knowledge and information will practically eliminate the practice of referring delinquent children to the juvenile court except in cases where parents will not cooperate. There is a consensus of opinion among child welfare experts that even now the court should handle only a minimum of cases. If this opinion is sound then it remains to be determined to what institution or agency cases of delinquency should be referred for diagnosis and treatment.

Behavior Problem Children

A brief discussion, accordingly, of some of the forces that create behavior problem children, and of the nature and make-up of the living human material, will assist in some measure to ascertain what can be done in the way of preventing and curing conduct disorders irrespective of courts and court procedure.

In a paper read before the American Sociological Society, Dr. William F. Ogburn stated that an important proposition taken from psychiatry is that the difference between the so-called normal individual on the one hand and the neurotic and psychotic on the other is more a difference of degree than kind. This proposition is applicable to delinquents. The difference between the normal and the antisocial behavior of children is more a difference of degree than kind. The personality of children develops through experience and environment. The normal reactions of a child to his particular environment may so affect his personality as to make him antisocial in his relations to the home and the school, and society itself.

The rationalizations of delinquent children are the same as those of children who are not delinquent. The experiences of delinquent and non-delinquent children are not the same. In all but a negligible number of cases it is found that the experience of the child before the juvenile court has little in common with that of more fortunate children. In fact, it may be stated almost unconditionally that in every more or less serious case of delinquency there is something wrong either in the child's organism or in his social or physical environment. Delinquent children have come in contact with some obscure force, they have responded normally to such a force and thus become behavior problems in the home or the school. If the origin and nature of these forces that control delinquent behavior are unknown, unrecognized or ignored by parents, teachers and judges, inevitable disaster to both society and the child results. There are few, if any, delinquent children who could not be identified as such in the school long before their maladjustments became so aggravated as to bring them within the law and before a court. It is said by Dr. Thomas Salmon that, excepting organic disturbances and diseases, the causes of crime originate in childhood. It can be stated no less definitely that most juvenile delinquency has its origin in the pre-school period of a child's life or in the early years of his school life. It is evident to all scientific observers and students of juvenile behavior that if delinquency were treated at the time of its incipency or at the time of its first symptomatic manifestation, multitudes of children would be saved for lives of happiness and usefulness.

The juvenile court has no facilities (except perhaps means for making the truth public) for attacking delinquency at its source. Usually when a child gets into the court it is found that he has been neglected—probably for years—and that his personality and behavior trends are set, thus making it almost impossible to administer effective relief. There is little hope for a child who during years of

neglect has been definitely conditioned by an adverse and destructive environment. The juvenile court can render no greater service than to point out what can be done by the school system in the way of preventing neglected, pre-delinquent and delinquent children from becoming juvenile offenders, undesirable citizens, or adult criminals.

The records of the juvenile courts of the United States and of Canada disclose that instances of truancy, retardation, laziness and so-called incorrigibility in the home and school are found in the life histories of most delinquent children. The records further disclose by inference that if the children in whose lives any one of these instances occurred had been given the attention and treatment in school that modern scientific methods warrant, they would never have appeared in court as juvenile delinquents or later adult criminals. A truant child needs something more than admonition and punishment. Placing lazy or retarded children in separate classes or special schools may accomplish nothing more than intellectually choking them with the three R's. It will not prevent their developing into delinquents.

Force and the Incorrigible Child

In respect to incorrigible children, teachers cannot "stand by their traditional role as disciplinarians." Force, again, will not suffice in dealing with the incorrigibles, as much of their "bad behavior," says Dr. Truitt, "is perfectly good biological behavior and their resistance to rigid authority may be essentially wholesome; their restlessness may spring from normal but thwarted desires for physical and mental activity which have been denied them in the schoolroom," or elsewhere. The emotional as well as the intellectual side of all behavior-problem and delinquent children must be considered. The child must be studied as a whole and from every angle, possibly for a series of months or years. There is no institution other than the school equipped or capable of being equipped for directing and supervising this most

important of all child welfare work. It is not in the interests of children or of society or of the state to permit feeble-minded children, or children with twisted personalities caused by any functional or non-functional disorder, to pass unnoticed through the public schools until finally they commit some act that stigmatizes them for life and makes all remedial treatment worthless. Every state in the Union, with one or two exceptions, has adopted the policy of preventing children who manifest traits of delinquency from entering criminal careers. By what institution or agency this end is attained is no doubt immaterial to the state. The state is not interested in particular methods. It is results that are demanded. If the state in the organization of juvenile courts intended to make a contribution to social work, it was one which demonstrated that the schools and social agencies were not taking advantage of their opportunities and equipment to save children for lives of usefulness and prevent them from later clogging the avenues of progress in adult life.

The ranks of delinquents and criminals are recruited from those who in their school days were known as truant, retarded, lazy, indifferent or incorrigible children. If the aim of the school system is to prepare children "to handle life's situations" it has failed in respect to children of these types. No one knows anything about the thousands or tens of thousands of children who in past years have failed to pass their grades. Nothing is heard of them until, possibly, they get into the juvenile or criminal courts or become public charges. They have always been misunderstood and their conduct misinterpreted by those who have been in the position of controlling their development.

The Child and the School

The fundamental aim of the schools, as well as of the juvenile courts, is to find the conditions that produce certain types of behavior in children. Symptoms are too often in-

terpreted as wilful misconduct when they are only "the child's blind reactions to intolerable conditions or to stimuli of an external or internal nature." Dr. Ira S. Wile in a discussion on "Laziness in School Children" declares, "It is understandable that after an absence due to illness, for example, it becomes impossible for them to grasp the lessons and, under conditions of easy fatigability, plus the sense of useless struggle, they succumb to a method of inactivity that subjects them to the least strain." Immediately succeeding this statement Dr. Wile describes a process that has been observed by every teacher in the schools of America. "Hope of catching up becomes transformed into hopelessness, hopelessness into indifference, indifference into apathy and accepted inactivity. The teacher, recognizing the lack of effort, upbraids the child for laziness. Thus the chain culminates in a desire to escape pain through accepting *inferiority as an absolute rather than a relative characteristic.*" It has been found in the juvenile court, and no doubt in the schools, that the retardation which is an early sign of maladjustment may be traced to faulty home conditions. Recent illness, malnutrition, want of sleep, bad ventilation, dissention and strife of parents, and kindred incidents in the home prevent the child from keeping up with his school mates. The process then is identical with that of the lazy child described by Dr. Wile; he accepts inferiority as his role. It may be asked, how is all this related to delinquency and the juvenile court? In reply it may be said that the relation may be traced so clearly that no doubt will remain as to the origin of most of the delinquency with which the juvenile court deals.

The Inferiority Complex

Dr. Wile has stated that retarded and so-called lazy children acquire a sense of inferiority. In this statement practically all psychologists and psychiatrists concur. This sense of inferiority is succeeded invariably by an emotional

revolt which is manifested in behavior so diverse and multifarious as to be astounding. A child debased in his own mind is on the way to being a pauper, a delinquent or a criminal. A child subjected to unreasonable censure, upbraidings and possibly punishment, becomes insensitive to the respect of others; will not conform to conventional standards of the home, school or community. No adult can live and succeed if he feels that he has neither friends nor neighbors; life in such an event would be unendurable. Children, like adults, have their goal toward which they strive,—the goal of happiness and power. Sometimes the conditions under which children live are so miserable that they conceive a false goal, but generally the goal is the same for all—one of happiness and power through contact with other children and approving teachers, parents and friends. One child becomes reticent, secretive and exclusive, shuns his companions and does unnatural things in hours of loneliness. He feels that he is not like other children, but he does not want to be reminded of it by being in their presence. He feels that his parents consider him deficient. Sometimes, to get away from it all, he leaves home, becomes a vagrant, steals something; he has to live and feels therefore justified. The police find him and bring him to the juvenile court. Another child—to show that he is not inferior—becomes a bully on the playground, antagonizes the teachers, refuses to study, stays away from school, joins a gang, rejoices in the publicity given his depredations in the community; finally the conception sinks into his soul that he is justified in his course, in pursuit of happiness and power, and he is then become a criminal as truly as a normal person is a democrat or republican, a Presbyterian or a Methodist.

Generalizations are called dangerous, yet they have a place in formulating programs for the prevention of delinquency and crime. Heredity, defect, and toxic or organic diseases are factors no doubt found in much delinquency; yet even here environment plays so great and definite a part as

to fortify the generalization that delinquents are made, not born. We must either throw upon the scrap heap all that educators, psychiatrists, psychologists and other men and women of science have found out concerning the conduct disorders of children, or else sincerely admit that with proper and adequate equipment, unnumbered children could be saved from delinquency. It is no longer a matter of giving a behavior problem child of the school or the juvenile court "a chance"—an expression heard in a hundred juvenile courts;—this is beside the issue. A child afflicted with some deviation from mental health is entitled to as much, if not more, attention as a child with an organic ailment. It is fundamental, too, that if treatment is to be successful the child must be identified early. In a city mentioned by Dr. Wile, 8496 or 10.5 per cent of the school population were retarded. Of these it was reported by the school committee that 538 were retarded because of laziness. In Ohio in 1925 there were 96,000 children in the common schools who failed to pass their grades. Is it not obvious that no state can afford to neglect so great a number of children? The juvenile court cannot remedy the situation. They come before it too late in most cases and, on the other hand, the courts generally lack adequate equipment.

How Cincinnati Solves the Problem

In Cincinnati the formal hearing of cases has practically ceased. No girls' cases come before the judge. A woman referee and her associates take care of all girls without any court procedure. The result has been that with but one or two exceptions no girls have been committed to the state industrial school. With the aid of the court clinic and the mental hygiene clinic which is supported by the Community Chest, no boys are sent to the industrial school except those whom the directors of the clinics declare to be incurable. Out of an enrollment of about 1,000 in the state industrial school there are but 12 from Cincinnati.

The greatest achievement of the schools and social agencies of Cincinnati in recent years, it appears to me, is that of the transference of the Opportunity Farms to the Board of Education. The farm for boys, containing 350 acres and six or more cottages and other buildings, and the farm for girls with the same number of cottages, have become a part of the public school system and are known as the Glenview and Hillcrest Schools. They are not identified in any way with the juvenile court or any other institution; they are administered solely as public schools.

The juvenile court no longer handles cases of truancy and minor delinquencies. If behavior problem children with an intelligence quotient of 75 or over need special care and training they are transferred by order of the superintendent of schools to Glenview or Hillcrest. The superintendent generally acts on the recommendation of the director of the mental hygiene clinic, who assists in supervising the work of these schools. So popular are the schools that it is not possible to accommodate children who seek admission through parents or teachers. The juvenile court has committed a few children to the care of individuals for the purpose of being placed in the Glenview or Hillcrest Schools but it has been suggested that now all such commitments cease. The interest being taken by Boards of Education, educators and teachers throughout the country in the behavior-problem child at school marks the beginning of determining the real causes of delinquency and antisocial conduct, whatever their nature.

Studies and Investigations

The study of behavior-problem children recommended by the National Education Association, acting jointly with committees of the National Conference of Social Work and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, appears to me the greatest movement ever suggested for the conservation of the childhood of our country. The public school is

a democratic institution. Its mission is more than that of preparing children for making a living; it must prepare them for making a life; for meeting the demands of society, of the state, of life itself. A child may have a low intelligence quotient, he may be emotionally unstable and a behavior problem, yet he is entitled as a matter of right to such training and instruction on the part of the public schools as will prepare him to live up to the limit of his possibilities. The school cannot justly disregard the emotional side of his life nor permit him to become an outcast of society.

The conservation of childhood and youth is the most important consideration of this day and generation. It becomes accentuated as the years pass. Within three decades cultural and environmental changes have of necessity changed our modes of behavior. New adjustments are as difficult for adults as they are for children. We all fail at times to distinguish that which is serious from the frivolous or immaterial.

It is true that the non-serious is as essential to life as the serious, but at present both appear to be out of balance and the non-serious seems to predominate. Our children today hear more and read more about prize fights, murder trials, divorce cases, prohibition raids, bandits and banditry than of those things that make for peace, order, law, morality, religion and social progress.

In Chicago in 1924 or 1925 an investigation was made in reference to the "nature and amount of civic information possessed by children about to enter junior high school." A list of those items of civic, social and economic life which were found to be best known to all children regardless of social or economic status, race or nationality, is extremely significant. In the order of their rank in the children's funds of information are the following: bootlegger, divorce, sheriff, juvenile court, bail, jury.

The study of behavior-problem children in school by the

child guidance clinics and the mental hygiene clinics, and the studying of pre-school children by the universities will doubtless finally reveal the nature of the forces that determine behavior. The problems of crime and delinquency will not be solved in court rooms, legislative halls or in the public forum. They will be solved in the great "silences," in the laboratories of educators and scientists who by research and experiment will finally find the way to relieve mankind of the burden which the social maladjustment of children has imposed upon it.

A Federal Judge's View of Probation

The Honorable Harry B. Anderson

*U. S. District Court, Memphis, Tenn.**

I have used probation frequently since I have been on the Federal bench under the Federal Probation Act. I believe in it. When I have succeeded with three or four probation cases and then suddenly things go wrong, I refuse to be discouraged. I keep in mind the successful cases. There is a case of a young man who was up before me for automobile theft. He was some twenty-two or twenty-three years old and was suspected of having been engaged in other criminal occupations. It just so happened that I knew something about the boy's ancestors. His family had produced good men for many generations. I put the boy on probation. Today he is holding a very responsible position and I heard the other day that, like the hero of Horatio Alger's stories, he was soon to marry the boss' daughter.

There was another case I like to think about. Two young high school students came before me. They had committed the usual offense of stealing an automobile. One of these boys was a smart looking lad. He wore his uniform well and stood at attention. I couldn't bear to send that boy on to the jail or reform school, so I put him under probation. Having put him on probation, I felt bound to put his classmate there too, although I did not care so much for his looks. The fine looking boy went off to a military school immediately after that and was there two years. He made the best record in school and was judged one of the finest students. I am proud of his achievements. The other boy

* Judge Anderson's remarks were given at the Annual Luncheon of the National Probation Association on May 2, 1928. Judge Anderson served as the presiding officer at the luncheon.

went along about six months and was caught robbing a church.

The probation law is necessary in the Federal courts. As a boy I remember the Federal court as a place where great constitutional questions were discussed, where civil lawsuits involving large sums of money were tried and where the criminal terms of three or four days were consumed in settling the guilt or innocence of men accused of counterfeiting or robbing the post-office. Today we try bootleggers, dope peddlers, Mann Act violators, and gentlemen that shoot ducks out of season. For every one that offends there is a law. I expect that half of us have violated some Federal law this morning and never knew it and never will know it. Because of the multitude of petty offenses and the multitude of young people who are brought before the Federal court, it is becoming increasingly necessary for Federal probation agencies to be appointed.

Congress has set aside the sum of \$25,000 for probation work in the Federal District Courts of the entire country. This only provides paid probation officers in six courts. The rest of us use probation more than we would admit and we do it by a hit or miss system. I, for one, am proud of the work that is being done under the probation law. The benefits which it is conferring upon the country cannot be estimated.

REPORTS OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS

MRS. T. W. ADAMS (Extension Secretary, Child Welfare Department, Ala.): We confined our entire discussion to types of cases found in the typical rural community. We reached as a conclusion the well known fact that case work should not be evaluated in terms of facilities or localities; that good case work can be done in rural communities; and that it can be done with a total lack of facilities. We were of the opinion that the unclassified social worker occupies a very advantageous position.

JOSEPH P. MURPHY (Chief Probation Officer, Essex County Court, Newark, N. J.): We had twenty-one questions and about nineteen of them were discussed. They should have taken about five days and we discussed them in an hour and thirty minutes. Practically on no one of those questions was there any conclusion arrived at. We had a very productive and helpful discussion on a great many of the very pressing problems and difficulties of a probation department.

HARRISON A. DOBBS (Superintendent, Juvenile Detention Home, Chicago, Ill.): We discussed the purpose of detention and decided there were two main reasons for the detention of any child: first, the safe and sane detention at the request of the agencies of the community; and second, opportunity for careful individual observation and scientific study.

We discussed the advisability of encouraging so far as possible placement of children, particularly the dependent group, in private boarding homes under the direction of court officers, and secondly, the maintenance of well directed detention homes where the program will be sufficiently broad and far-reaching, and the supervision will be constant enough to warrant the detention of the child in a detention home. Detention brings its own dangers. We have a feeling that if we as representatives of the community charged with the safe and sane detention of these children should stimulate our communities to a program of exceptional broadness in dealing with the problems of this particular group of children, the dangers which generally accompany a period of court detention would be avoided. We urge limitation of intake, rapidity of outgo and a careful and direct cooperation with the agencies of the community which are involved with the replacement and removal of these children from detention.

BEULAH WOOD FITE (Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Memphis, Tenn.): Our discussion reached the following conclusions: that the needs in work with colored people at the present time are better trained colored workers and a development of appreciation among the colored people of the work. We feel that if we could get the colored people to appreciate the work of progressive members of their race, it would help in solving some of the problems of work with colored people.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RUNAWAY CHILDREN

*Nannie Oppenheimer, Director Complaint Department, Juvenile Court,
Pittsburgh, Pa., Chairman*

The form of agreement which was sent to one hundred and sixty-eight juvenile courts throughout the country and from which replies were received from forty-nine courts, were returned to the chief probation officers signing them and information was asked regarding their use. So far the replies have

not been encouraging and little of importance has developed. It is planned to reach a number of courts in each state throughout the country and to urge that the agreement be signed by all of them.

With the form agreement, the committee sent a questionnaire and a number of suggestions. The questionnaire concerned statistics and replies indicated that few courts kept any statistics based upon the following definition of "runaway," which has been adopted by the National Probation Association:—those boys and girls who live outside the jurisdiction of the juvenile court where they are apprehended and who apparently left home without the knowledge or consent of their parents or guardians. A number of courts will be asked to keep statistics, in an effort to find out the volume of the problem and methods used by the courts in dealing with it. It is felt that the suggestions are extremely important and valuable and that if courts throughout the country will follow them, the present lack of system and confusion will be largely overcome. It is planned to send these suggestions with the agreement and questionnaire to a number of courts.

A greater effort to arouse public interest in the problem of the runaway will be undertaken by the committee. For this purpose it has been suggested that an appeal be made to motorists through the press, magazines, clubs, state highway departments and other sources, not to transport young children for long distances, who solicit them on public highways and other places.

The suggestion for the establishment of a Bureau of Identification in the Department of Justice for minors under twenty-one years of age, has as yet not received the study by the National Probation Association, which will be necessary before the Committee can recommend its adoption.

Annual Report of the National Probation Association, for the Year Ended March 31, 1928

To the Members of the National Probation Association:

The year that has passed has been notable in the increased interest and demand, on the part of thinking people, for constructive measures for the understanding, prevention, and rational treatment of crime. The many crime commissions, city, state and the National Crime Commission, created as a result partly of crime wave hysteria and partly out of a growing realization of the crime problem, always a serious and unsolved one in America, after passing through the period of demanding only severity and repressive measures, have begun to realize the necessity of studying the problem, of developing criminal statistics, of improving institutions and agencies dealing effectively with crime and delinquency.

The studies and reports of the crime commissions state and national, have revealed a growing appreciation of the importance of progressive agencies for study and treatment of the individual offender. It is realized today that among the most important of these is probation which deals with the offender when he first becomes a public charge, which puts individual understanding into the method of the courts and which furnishes a plan of social supervision and training,—preventing instead of confirming antisocial trends.

The National Crime Commission in a notable conference in October made probation one of its major topics with a member of the Board of Directors and the General Secretary of the Association appearing prominently on the program. We have been able to cooperate with crime commissions in a number of states and cities, especially in New

York state, in advancing improved legislation for the extension and improvement of probation work.

Educational Service

The Association has emphasized the need of educational work in the field of probation and social organization of courts. Through its publications and newspaper releases which have been sent broadcast; through the participation of its workers in meetings of organizations; through its cooperation with public and private agencies, it has endeavored to bring the cause of sound probation and social court work before the public.

Through its field work investigations, numerous visits to courts and conferences with judges, through its annual conference and through institutes for probation officers, it has endeavored to develop higher standards among the workers in the courts.

Three-day institutes on probation and juvenile court work were conducted by Mr. Hiller, Field Secretary, in connection with the state welfare conferences in Ohio and Illinois. State conferences of social work or state probation officers' associations were addressed by representatives of the Association in Ohio, Arkansas, Tennessee, Indiana, Georgia, Maine, Connecticut, Maryland, New York, West Virginia and Washington. Women's clubs, men's fraternal organizations and other special meetings were addressed. The General Secretary attended the Pan-American Conference on Child Welfare at Havana, Cuba, as a delegate from the United States, and presented a paper on juvenile court work.

Legislative Work

In connection with field work surveys, the Association has cooperated with its members in a number of states in advancing improved legislation for probation and juvenile court work. At the close of last year, it secured the enactment of a new adult probation law in Indiana. A proposed

new probation law was prepared for Wisconsin. Mr. Hiller in his capacity of Field Secretary was sent to Madison to appear for this bill and urge its passage. It was, however, postponed.

In New York state, the General Secretary appeared at hearings of the Crime Commission and cooperated closely with other state organizations in securing the enactment in 1928 of three bills which greatly strengthened the probation law of the state. One of these provides for the extension of the powers and staff of the State Probation Division. Another bill provides for the strengthening of probation work in four county courts in New York city. Injurious amendments to the probation laws were opposed.

In connection with its survey in New Jersey, the Association prepared three bills for reorganizing the probation work of the state. Two of these bills were introduced in the legislature but action was postponed until next year. Assistance was given in other states through correspondence and drafts of bills.

Field Service

An increasing amount of field work has been carried on by the Association during the year. This work has been greatly assisted by the renewed appropriation of the Commonwealth Fund. Mr. Hiller and Mr. Drowne have continued their work as field secretaries. Mrs. Marjorie Bell was added to the field staff in June in place of Miss Carolyn Boone who was transferred to the Research and Publicity Department. Mrs. M. B. Smith also assisted in field work during part of the year. The following have been the principal projects and the results secured:

Indiana: The report of the survey made of probation in all courts in Indianapolis by Mr. Drowne was completed and distributed widely in that city. A local committee was formed and several visits have been made to the city to cooperate with the committee in setting up a new adult probation department. The General Secretary conducted a com-

petitive examination for probation officers at the request of the judges. As a result of this work four new probation officers, all well trained, were appointed and are now serving in the criminal and municipal courts. At the request of the judge, a visit and a brief survey of the probation needs in South Bend were made by Mr. Drowne.

Pittsburgh: Mr. Hiller completed a three and one half months' study of the juvenile court assisted by Mrs. Smith. A complete report was printed and sent to each member of the bar of the county, to public officials, to social workers and many interested citizens. As a result of this work a well trained and experienced chief probation officer was appointed. As an incidental result of the survey an order was issued by the Director of Public Safety forbidding the police to bring children to the police stations and hold them over night. The order decreed that all children arrested in Pittsburgh should be brought to the juvenile court or the detention home. The hearing of children in the Morals Court, an adult police court, was also discontinued. A competitive examination for probation officers, the first ever held in Pittsburgh, resulted in securing some improved appointments. Later visits have been made to assist in bringing about recommendations of the survey. To this end, Mr. Hiller addressed a meeting arranged by the Federation of Social Agencies in the fall.

Lancaster: At the invitation of the Rotary Club a study was made of the Boys' Home conducted by the club as the detention home of the juvenile court. Two workers spent a period of two weeks making a careful study. A report was presented to the Rotary Club which resulted in improvements.

Baltimore: Upon invitation of the judges of the Supreme Bench, a thorough-going survey of adult probation was made. Mr. Drowne assisted by Mrs. Bell carried on the field investigation over a period of several months. A detailed report was submitted to the judges. A Committee

of five judges visited New York at our invitation, conferred with us and observed probation in the New York courts. The judges agreed to request the Board of Estimate for an increased appropriation for probation work and for a new and experienced chief probation officer.

New Jersey: At the invitation of the State Juvenile and Probation Study Commission, created by the legislature last year, a study was conducted of probation work and a separate report presented to the Commission regarding the probation work of each of the twenty-one counties of the state. Three field workers were employed for nearly three months. A general report with detailed recommendations was prepared for the Commission accompanied by drafts of three bills for a new probation law for the state. The Commission followed most of the recommendations in its report submitted to the legislature. The report has been widely distributed. Lack of time prevented thorough consideration of the bills which will be urged at the legislative session next year. We have undertaken a campaign for improved probation work in Bergen County.

Boston: At the request of Dr. Miriam Van Waters, in charge of the Juvenile Delinquency Section of the Harvard Law School Survey of Criminal Justice, Mr. Hiller was lent to the Survey to study the several courts in Boston handling juvenile delinquency. Mr. Hiller spent two months in the work. More recently the work was taken up by Mrs. Bell who has been making analyses of probation case work in the Boston Juvenile Court.

North Carolina: A study was made by Mrs. Bell of the state program of combined social work with brief studies in several counties with especial reference to juvenile court and probation work. A report was rendered to other national agencies concerned.

Connecticut: A study of probation work in Bridgeport was completed by Miss Boone and a report submitted. A visit was made by Mr. Drowne to New London following

the study there. He appeared before a committee of the New London city council and succeeded in obtaining an appropriation for a new probation officer.

Los Angeles: At the urgent request of the judge and the juvenile court and with the assistance of a fund raised by the Rotary Club, we were enabled to send Mr. Hiller in February to begin a thorough survey of juvenile court and probation work in Los Angeles County. The work is still in progress. Excellent interest and cooperation have been forthcoming. Mr. Hiller has addressed many organizations in the city and state and definite results are expected in improving the service.

Besides the above, numerous visits have been made to courts and cooperating agencies in other cities in order to assist in securing increased support, new probation officers and improved methods. Requests for further work of this character are pending from many courts.

Federal Probation

We have continued active in the effort to advance salaried probation service in the Federal Courts under the law secured through the efforts of the Association. The General Secretary has made numerous visits to Washington keeping in close touch with the Department of Justice and the Civil Service Commission. It was necessary to conduct a new examination to obtain eligible lists in five states. The National Probation Association offered its service to the Civil Service Commission, and the General Secretary of the Association was drafted to rate the papers and conduct the oral examinations of candidates scattered over the five states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Kentucky and Georgia. As a result of the examination which produced excellent candidates, three more districts have secured paid probation officers, making six at the present time. Two more appointments are pending. The need for a director of probation in the Department of Justice has been recognized

by the Association from the start. Accordingly a bill was prepared to accomplish this purpose and to provide for the further extension of paid probation work. This bill is now pending in Congress. We recently conducted a hearing before the House of Representatives' Judiciary Committee on behalf of the Bill. Continued effort will be made to secure more adequate appropriations for the extension of this work.

Employment Bureau

We have continued the work of the Employment Bureau, registering a large number of candidates seeking probation positions. Requests from courts for trained and experienced officers have increased. Among others, several large city courts have been assisted in obtaining chief probation officers.

Research and Information

Complete information on the salaries of probation officers throughout the country was compiled.

A new and complete Directory of Probation Officers in the United States and Canada was prepared and published.

We have completed a detailed analysis of all probation and juvenile laws of the United States and are prepared to give information to inquirers regarding probation laws in any state. An analysis of these laws is to be published.

We have endeavored to compile information regarding probation work in all parts of the world.

We are in receipt of daily inquiries for information and are serving as the only national clearing house for persons desiring information on all phases of social court work.

Work of Committees

Domestic Relations Courts: The Committee made a questionnaire study of the work of Domestic Relations Courts and presented a report at the last annual conference which has been separately published. The Committee is cooperating with the Children's Bureau in preparing a

report on these courts and in establishing national standards.

Records and Statistics: Model juvenile and adult probation blanks, prepared by the Committee, have been in great demand by the courts of the country. The preparing of additional blank forms and the study and promotion of adequate statistical systems for probation departments is under contemplation.

Treatment of Runaway Children: The Committee prepared a report which was presented at the last conference; it also prepared a form of agreement to be entered into by the juvenile courts for the transfer of runaway children from one jurisdiction to another. This agreement has been signed by chief probation officers in most of the larger juvenile courts.

Work with Girls: A Committee was formed during the year and has conducted correspondence. It is arranging meetings at the next annual conference for getting together experienced workers with girls to discuss their problems.

Conferences

The Twenty-First Annual Conference at Des Moines was one of the most valuable we have held. There were about 200 delegates coming from 29 states, Canada and Cuba. An increasing number of judges attend these conferences and as the Proceedings are distributed widely, we believe the conferences have great educational value.

The Association sponsored three sessions devoted to a report and discussion on probation problems at the American Prison Association Conference in Tacoma, Washington, in August.

We have participated in many local and state conferences by the sending of speakers and literature.

Publications

The Proceedings of the Annual Probation Conference at Des Moines, a book of 307 pages, was published recently. Demand for this issue has been unexpectedly heavy and we

have already distributed almost 2,800 copies. Copies are sent free upon request to members.

We continue to issue the "*Probation Bulletin*" every other month. Judging from comments received, it is becoming increasingly useful and necessary. It endeavors to keep our members posted upon events in the probation field, and the work of the Association.

The sixth edition of the *National Directory of Probation Officers*, a booklet of seventy-seven pages, containing the names of 3,702 probation officers, was published in January. Arranged by cities and covering every state in the Union and the Provinces of Canada, this directory fills a need which is met by no other publication. As a reference medium alone, we have had the strongest endorsements of the directory.

The following leaflets were issued:

"*The Juvenile Court as a Case Working Agency*," by Francis H. Hiller, reprint from the 1926 Proceedings of the Association.

"*Progressive Methods of Care of Children Pending Juvenile Court Hearing*," Katharine F. Lenroot, reprint from the 1926 Proceedings.

"*The Development and Needs of Probation Service*," by Charles L. Chute, address at the Conference of the National Crime Commission at Washington, D. C., November, 1927, published by the Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology; copies secured for distribution.

"*Adult Probation—Present Status and Prospects*," by Charles L. Chute, reprint from the Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Conference of the Association at Des Moines, May, 1927.

"*What Science Has Taught Us Regarding the Criminal*," by Dr. Samuel C. Kohs, reprint from the 1927 Proceedings.

"*Report of the Joint Committee on Domestic Relations*," reprint from the 1927 Proceedings.

The following popular leaflets on the work of the Associa-

tion were issued: "Delinquent at 12," "When Parents Fail," "Assets and Liabilities," "Little Jail Bird," and "Applying the Ounce of Prevention."

Board of Directors

Four meetings of the Board of Directors have been held during the year. In January a well attended luncheon meeting of the Board and Advisory Committee with distinguished guests was held in New York. The leading address was made by Judge Charles W. Hoffman of Cincinnati. At the annual meeting of the Association in Des Moines, the following new members were added to the Board: Judge George C. Appell, White Plains, N. Y.; Judge George H. Day of Hartford, Conn.; Judge L. B. Day of Omaha, Neb.; Prof. Raymond Moley of Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; and Joseph P. Murphy of Newark, N. J., Dr. Charles Platt and Dr. Miriam Van Waters were re-elected to the Board and Judge Franklin Chase Hoyt was re-elected Chairman.

Membership and Means of Support

The support of the Association comes very largely from membership dues and small contributions. We continued to use the written appeal and have developed extensively the sending out of local letters sponsored by local committees, judges or other prominent citizens. In several instances the local appeals have been sent out in connection with field work projects. Ernest H. Cole, Extension Secretary, has done active work in this department, visiting many cities to develop interest and support for the Association.

The active paid membership of the Association at the close of the year was 6,683. One year previous it was 4,966. At the close of the year 3,593 of the membership represented old members who had renewed their contributions; and 3,090 were new members who had contributed for the first time during the year. We have members from every state in the Union with the exception of Wyoming; many

members from Canada; and one or more members from each of the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Ceylon, China, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Holland, Hawaii, India, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay.

The membership of the Association is divided as follows: Active members (\$2.00-\$4.99) 2,282; contributing members (\$5.00-\$9.99) 2,391; supporting members (\$10.00-\$24.99) 1,572; sustaining members (\$25.00-\$99.99) 386; patron members (\$100-and over) 52; in addition 363 contributed less than \$2.00.

We acknowledge with great appreciation the receipt of the second year's appropriation from the Commonwealth Fund for our field service department, totaling \$12,500, paid in quarterly installments. This has been of the greatest assistance to the work of the Association. A renewal appropriation of \$10,000 has been promised for next year.

From the Hartley Corporation through the generosity of Mrs. Helen Hartley Jenkins, we received \$1,200 for the past year. An unexpected legacy of \$500 was paid to the Association from the estate of Miss Sarah Newlin of Philadelphia.

Future Program

During the coming year we plan to carry on the work of the Association along the following lines:

1. To continue the field service with three workers as before. From the many opportunities for surveys, organization and campaign work we shall endeavor to select those where the need is greatest and where the best chances for concrete results appear. First of all we shall seek results in the improvement and development of probation work. Secondly, we shall seek to secure information and material on probation methods and results that will be of value to the entire country in developing standards.

2. To extend the work of our Educational Department, we plan to make greater use of the newspapers and current

periodicals in an effort to promote popular education on probation. We shall seek to compile and make available all possible information on probation. It is planned to develop exhibit material and to publish more literature on all phases of the work.

3. Through organizing our Information Service, to be of greater value to the courts and others seeking information on any phase of the problem.

4. To give more active service to the state probation bureaus or supervising departments and to urge their establishment in other states. To cooperate with and utilize state probation associations and local organizations interested in probation.

5. To visit and assist all of the new salaried probation officers in the United States District Courts so that they may demonstrate successful results under the Federal Probation Law. To campaign for a larger appropriation for the salaries of these officers at the next session of Congress.

6. To establish a traveling institute or educational service available to state conferences of social work, probation associations or courts. To offer to agencies a series of lectures and class discussions on probation methods and case work. To cooperate with schools of social work, universities, etc., in developing within their curricula training for probation work.

7. To develop the Employment Bureau and to encourage its greater utilization by the courts. To promote methods for securing better trained personnel, including an extension of the service which we have given in a few cities of organizing and conducting competitive examinations for probation officers.

8. To assist in developing more adequate clinical service in the courts.

For the Board of Directors,

CHARLES L. CHUTE,

General Secretary.

April 1, 1928.

Treasurer's Report

NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION, INC.

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1928

BALANCE, APRIL 1, 1927.....\$10,089.37

RECEIPTS:

Dues and contributions.....	\$51,560.15
Commonwealth Fund donation	12,500.00
Hartley Corporation donation.	2,200.00
Estate of Sarah Newlin, legacy	500.00
Local contributions for field service expenses.....	2,211.35
Publications	461.73
Interest on bank balances.....	343.75
Miscellaneous	172.05
	<hr/>
Total receipts.....	69,949.03
	<hr/>
Total	\$80,038.40

DISBURSEMENTS (as apportioned among projects by the Association):

Educational service.....	\$14,994.58
Legislative campaigns.....	5,401.28
Information and advice.....	5,080.75
Research	4,071.57
Field service.....	19,858.80
Financial campaigns.....	15,108.03
Employment service.....	760.72
General administration.....	5,350.50
	<hr/>
Total disbursements.....	\$70,626.23

BALANCE, MARCH 31, 1928:

On deposit:

Reserve fund account.....	\$7,702.25	
General	884.92	
Petty cash fund.....	25.00	
Traveling expense funds.....	800.00	\$9,412.17
		<hr/>

CERTIFICATE

We have made a cash audit of the accounts of the National Probation Association, Inc., for the year ended March 31, 1928, and

WE HEREBY CERTIFY that, subject to the apportionment of disbursements by the Association, the above statement correctly sets forth the Association's receipts during the year as recorded, its disbursements during the year, and its cash balance at March 31, 1928.

HASKINS & SELLS

New York, April 13, 1928

HENRY de FOREST BALDWIN, Treasurer.

MINUTES OF BUSINESS

Transacted at the Annual Conference of the Association

Memphis, Tenn., April 30-May 2, 1928

At the sessions of the 22nd Annual Conference of the Association, 283 delegates registered, coming from 36 states, with two from Belgium and one each from Canada and Switzerland; 72 new members joined the Association and 49 renewed their memberships.

Nine well-attended sessions of the Conference were held, with a series of group discussions. Over 200 persons were present at a general luncheon and there were special dinners including one for judges with 30 judges and referees in attendance.

The following items of business were transacted during the Conference:

A telegram from Dr. Charles Platt, President, was read, expressing his regret at being unable to attend on account of illness. It was voted that a reply be sent to him by the Secretary expressing our regret in turn, and with the hope that he might recover and again become active in the work of the Association.

Reports were presented by the Committee on Domestic Relations Courts, the Committee on Runaway Children, and the Committee on Records and Statistics, which were accepted.

The General Secretary reported for the officers and Board of Directors on the work of the Association during the past year.

The following Committee on Resolutions was appointed:

Judge H. G. Cochran, Chairman
Mrs. Florence R. Boys
Miss Alice Nutt
Percy A. Sharpley
Miss Netta Burt

Judge Cochran presented the report of the Committee. Mr. Herbert C. Parsons moved to amend the report of the Committee by adding a resolution concerning Federal Probation. The report, as amended, was adopted. (Resolutions attached.)

The following Committee on Nominations was appointed:

Herbert C. Parsons, Chairman
Mary E. McChristie
Bernard J. Fagan
Mrs. W. F. McDermott
Edward T. Volz

The report of the Committee was presented and discussed, and as a result the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President—George W. Wickersham, New York, N. Y.

Vice-President—Judge Charles W. Hoffman, Cincinnati, Ohio

The following members of the Board of Directors were re-elected for the four-year term:

Percy S. Straus, New York, N. Y.
Alice C. Smith, New York, N. Y.
Herbert C. Parsons, Boston, Mass.
Henry deForest Baldwin, New York, N. Y.

The following new members were elected to the Board for four-year terms:

Judge Herbert C. Cochran, Norfolk, Va.

Judge Camille Kelley, Memphis, Tenn.

Henry Pratt Fairchild, New Haven, Conn.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES L. CHUTE,
General Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE
NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION, MEMPHIS, MAY 2, 1928

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That we indorse the work of and recommend the continuance of the Committees on Domestic Relations Courts, Records and Statistics, Run-away Children, and Work with Girls, and the continuance and extension of the field work of the Association and recommend to juvenile courts cooperation with the Federal Children's Bureau in its efforts to establish uniform statistics.
2. That we indorse the principle of the use of socialized procedure in all courts having jurisdiction of matters involving children and indorse the principles suggested in the study of family courts made by the Federal Children's Bureau.
3. That we recommend the establishment in law schools of courses on probation and preventive jurisprudence.
4. That this Association indorses the bill now pending in Congress to amend the Federal Probation Law, particularly as to the provision for a Director of Probation in the Department of Justice, and urges the extension and development of probation in the United States District Courts as of vital importance to our national judicial system.
5. That this Association extends to Dr. Charles Platt our appreciation of his invaluable services and contributions to the cause of probation and the work of the National Probation Association, and sends to him our cordial greetings.
6. That we extend our appreciation to the City of Memphis and especially to its Mayor, its press, its juvenile court, the local committees, the First Methodist Church where the sessions have been held, the hotels, the headquarters staff of the Association, and other agencies and individuals who have contributed to the success of the Conference.

NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION, Inc.
BY-LAWS

Adopted May 31, 1919. Amended April 14, 1920, June 21, 1921,
June 22, 1922, June 9, 1925

ARTICLE I—NAME

The corporate name of this organization shall be the National Probation Association, Incorporated.

ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

The objects of this Association are:

To study and standardize methods of probation and parole work, both juvenile and adult, by conferences, field investigations and research;

To extend and develop the probation system by legislation, the publication and distribution of literature, and in other ways;

To promote the establishment and development of juvenile courts, domestic relations or family courts and other specialized courts using probation;

To cooperate so far as possible with all movements promoting the scientific and human treatment of delinquency and its prevention.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Association shall consist of persons and organizations who apply for membership and are accepted by the Board of Directors and who pay dues annually. Members shall be classified as active members, contributing members, supporting members, sustaining members, patrons, life members, and organization members. Active members shall be those who pay dues of \$2.00 or more a year; except that when arrangements are made for the affiliation of all the members of a state or local association of probation officers, paying joint dues in the local and national association the Board of Directors may authorize a reduction of dues for active membership. Contributing members shall be those who contribute \$5.00 or more annually to the Association. Supporting members shall be those who contribute \$10.00 or more annually to the Association. Sustaining members shall be those who contribute \$25.00 or more annually to the Association. Patrons shall be those who contribute \$100.00 or more during a single calendar year. Life members shall be those who contribute \$1000.00 or more to the Association. Organization members shall consist of organizations, courts or institutions which shall contribute \$10.00 or more annually to the Association. Members who fail to pay their dues after reasonable notice in writing by the Treasurer or General Secretary shall thereupon cease to be members.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall consist of a President, Vice-President, General Secretary, Treasurer and Board of Directors. The President and Vice-President shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association. They shall serve one year and until their successors are elected. The General Secretary and the Treasurer shall be elected by the Board of Directors and shall serve during its pleasure. The Board may elect honorary vice-presidents in its discretion who shall serve during its pleasure.

ARTICLE V—DUTIES OF THE OFFICERS

The President shall act as Chairman at all business meetings of the Association. In the absence of the President, the Vice-President shall so act. The General Secretary shall be the chief executive officer of the Association. The Treasurer shall have charge of the finances of the Association and shall report thereon to the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VI—BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors shall consist of twenty-eight members so elected that the terms of seven shall expire each year. At each annual meeting of the Association seven directors shall be elected by ballot. The Board shall elect its Chairman annually. The Board may fill a vacancy occurring among the officers or the Board of Directors until the next annual meeting of the Association, at which time a successor shall be duly elected for the unexpired term.

ARTICLE VII—DUTIES OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors shall have general direction of the work of the Association and shall administer the funds of the Association. It shall report to the Association at the annual meeting and at such other times as the Association may require.

ARTICLE VIII—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

There shall be an Executive Committee consisting of seven members of the Board of Directors. Such Committee shall consist of the Chairman of the Board who shall act as Chairman of the Committee, and six members of the Board to be appointed by the Chairman annually. Such Committee shall have the powers and perform the duties of the Board of Directors between its meetings, subject to the approval of the Board. Three members shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE IX—OTHER COMMITTEES

A Nominating Committee consisting of five members of the Association shall be appointed by the President each year to nominate the officers to be elected by the Association. Such standing and special committees as may be authorized by the Association or the Board of Directors shall be appointed by the President.

ARTICLE X—MEETINGS

The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the third Tuesday in May or on such day as may be determined by the Directors. Special meetings may be held as determined by the Directors. Ten members shall constitute a quorum. Meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held as it may determine. Seven members shall constitute a quorum of the Board.

ARTICLE XI—AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members of the Association present at the annual meeting, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors.

NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION, INC.
Organized 1907, Incorporated 1921

OFFICERS AND BOARD—1928-1929

PRESIDENT

HON. GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM, New York, N. Y.

VICE-PRESIDENT

HON. CHARLES W. HOFFMAN, Judge, Court of Domestic Relations,
Cincinnati, Ohio

TREASURER

HENRY deFOREST BALDWIN, New York, N. Y.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

HON. FREDERICK P. CABOT, Judge, Juvenile Court, Boston, Mass.

JULIA C. LATHROP, Former Chief, Children's Bureau, Rockford, Ill.

JOSEPH LEE, President, Community Service, Inc., Boston, Mass.

HON. JULIAN W. MACK, Judge, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals,
New York, N. Y.

HON. HUGO PAM, Judge, Superior Court, Chicago, Ill.

HON. EDWARD F. WAITE, Judge, District Court, Minneapolis, Minn.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Terms Expire 1932

HENRY deFOREST BALDWIN, New York, N. Y.

HON. HERBERT G. COCHRAN, Judge, Juvenile and Domestic Relations
Court, Norfolk, Va.

PROF. HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, New Haven, Conn.

HON. CAMILLE KELLEY, Judge, Juvenile Court, Memphis, Tenn.

HON. HERBERT C. PARSONS, Deputy Commissioner of Probation, Boston,
Mass.

ALICE C. SMITH, Probation Officer, Women's Court, New York, N. Y.

PERCY S. STRAUS, New York, N. Y.

Terms Expire 1931

DR. MIRIAM VAN WATERS, Referee, Juvenile Court, Los Angeles, Calif.

HON. GEORGE C. APPELL, Judge, Children's Court, Westchester County,
N. Y.

GEORGE H. DAY, Hartford, Conn.

HON. L. B. DAY, Judge, Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Omaha,
Neb.

PROFESSOR RAYMOND MOLEY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH P. MURPHY, Chief Probation Officer, Essex County, Newark, N. J.

Terms Expire 1930

W. BRUCE COBB, Secretary, Courts Committee, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MRS. W. F. DUMMER, Chicago, Ill.
MABEL BROWN ELLIS, New York, N. Y.
BERNARD FLEXNER, New York, N. Y.
EDWIN L. GARVIN, Attorney-at-Law, New York, N. Y.
HON. CHARLES W. HOFFMAN, Judge, Domestic Relations Court, Cincinnati, Ohio
EMMA O. LUNDBERG, Child Welfare League, New York, N. Y.

Terms Expire 1929

DR. JOHN H. FINLEY, Associate Editor, New York Times, New York, N. Y.
HON. FRANKLIN CHASE HOYT, Chief Justice, Children's Court, New York, N. Y.
MRS. HELEN HARTLEY JENKINS, New York, N. Y.
TRACY W. MCGREGOR, Detroit, Mich.
JAMES H. POST, New York, N. Y.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, New York, N. Y.
EDITH WHITNEY SHAW, Probation Officer, Hudson County, Hoboken, N. J.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

JOHN G. AGAR, New York, N. Y.
HON. FLORENCE E. ALLEN, Columbus, Ohio
LADY ARMSTRONG, New York, N. Y.
GEORGE GORDON BATTLE, New York, N. Y.
MRS. SIDNEY C. BORG, New York, N. Y.
CHARLES C. BURLINGHAM, New York, N. Y.
DR. S. PARKES CADMAN, Brooklyn, N. Y.
WILLIAM HAMLIN CHILDS, New York, N. Y.
SENATOR ROYAL S. COPELAND, New York, N. Y.
RT. REV. JAMES H. DARLINGTON, Harrisburg, Pa.
MRS. WILLIAM P. EARLE, Jr., Brooklyn, N. Y.
HON. GEORGE S. GRAHAM, Philadelphia, Pa.
DR. HASTINGS H. HART, New York, N. Y.
MRS. HARRY HART, Chicago, Ill.
HON. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, New York, N. Y.
RALPH JONAS, New York, N. Y.
HON. FREDERIC KERNOCHAN, New York, N. Y.
DR. GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, New York, N. Y.
RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Boston, Mass.
ADOLPH LEWISOHN, New York, N. Y.
GEORGE MacDONALD, New York, N. Y.

HON. WILLIAM McADOO, New York, N. Y.
ADELBERT MOOT, Buffalo, N. Y.
MRS. W. L. MURDOCK, Birmingham, Ala.
MRS. WILLARD PARKER, New York, N. Y.
MRS. GIFFORD PINCHOT, Harrisburg, Pa.
DEAN ROSCOE POUND, Cambridge, Mass.
VICTOR F. RIDDER, New York, N. Y.
FRANCIS H. SISSON, New York, N. Y.
HENRY W. TAFT, New York, N. Y.
HON. JOSEPH ULMAN, Baltimore, Md.
MARTIN H. VOGEL, New York, N. Y.
MRS. PERCY T. WALDEN, New Haven, Conn.
RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE, New York, N. Y.
MRS. H. O. WITTPENN, Hoboken, N. J.

STAFF

CHARLES L. CHUTE, General Secretary
FRANCIS H. HILLER, Field Secretary
RALPH E. DROWNE, Field Secretary
MRS. MARJORIE BELL, Field Secretary
LOUISE FRANKLIN BACHE, Educational Secretary
MRS. MARIAN M. STOMMEL, Office Manager
MRS. HARRIET H. BURGER, Stenographer
MARION KILBANE, Stenographer
DAISY B. SMITH, Stenographer
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MELI HOLVED, Stenographer

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INDEX

TO TITLES AND SUBJECTS OF ARTICLES AND NAMES OF PERSONS IN THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL PROCEED- INGS OF THE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

- A**dams, Mrs. T. W. (discussion), 381
 Addams, Jane (reference), 134
 Adjusting Treatment to Diagnosis (paper), 186
 Adults,—adult case stories No. 1, George Wood, 251; No. 2, Robert White, 296; No. 3, Mary, 312; young offender and the adult, 135
 Alabama,—County Child Welfare Board Act, 22; family court (Jefferson County, Birmingham), 104; jurisdiction of courts in Tuscaloosa, Mobile and Montgomery counties, 18
 Alley life, 346
 American Bar Association (quotation), 65
 American Institute of Law (reference), 394
 Amusements (*see* recreation)
 Anderson, Judge Harry B. (remarks), 379
 Annual Report of the National Probation Association, 1927-1928 (paper), 383
 Arizona,—establishes adult probation, 17
 Arkansas,—use of an advisory group in court work with girls, 235

Baker, Judge Newton D. (quotation), 87
 Baltimore, Maryland (*see* Maryland)
 Bartelme, Judge Mary M. (discussion), 240, 241
 Baumes Commission and Laws,—history of,—and description of laws, 18
 Bell, Mrs. Marjorie (paper), 319; (reference), 385, 386, 387
 Binford, Jessie F. (paper), 124; (discussion), 249
 Birmingham, Alabama (*see* Alabama)
 Boardman, Rhea K. (paper), 135
 Boone, Carolyn (reference), 385, 387
 Boston, Massachusetts (*see* Massachusetts)
 Boy Delinquent in the Boston Juvenile Court (paper), 319
 Boy Scouts,—their relationship to delinquency, 66
 Boys,—boy delinquent in Boston Juvenile Court, 319; court and pre-court work with, 202; experiment in treatment of the pre-delinquent boy, 206; off beaten paths with the problem boy, 216
 Boys clubs,—value of, 205
 Bradway, John S. (reference), 107, 123, 155
 Bridgeport, Connecticut (*see* Connecticut)
 Buffalo, New York (*see* New York)
 Burns, W. J. (quoted), 64
 Burton, Judge Theodore (quotation), 65

California,—changes in probation, 17; courts in the U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 171; robberies in Los Angeles, 65; superior court, 109; survey of juvenile court and probation work in Los Angeles County, 388
 Canada, homicides, 65
 Canfield, Dorothy (reference), 138
 Case stories,—boy delinquent in the Boston Juvenile Court, 319; Mary, 312; Mary Manley, 326; missing girls, 225; probation in Cicero, Ill., 206; problem boy, 216; psychological clinic, 186; what is success and what is failure, 242, discussion, 246; Robert White, 296, and discussion, 309; George Wood, 251
 Chicago, Illinois (*see* Illinois)
 Child, The Family and The Court, (paper), 102
 Child guidance clinics and juvenile courts, 118; in delinquency, 125
 Child labor, legislation, 126

- Children's Bureau (*see* U. S. Children's Bureau)
- Church, in boys' work, 205
- Chute, Charles L. (paper), 14, 383; (discussion), 159
- Cincinnati, Ohio (*see* Ohio)
- Clabaugh, Hon. Hinton (reference), 80
- Cline, A. W. (case story), 334
- Cobb, Judge W. Bruce (reference), 107
- Cochran, Judge Herbert G. (paper), 62; (discussion), 100; (quoted), 146
- Colorado,—Juvenile Court in Denver, 104; juvenile court legislation, 102
- Committee of Domestic Relations Courts,—Report, 152; (discussion), 158
- Committee on Records and Statistics, Work of, 390
- Committee on Runaway Children,—work of, 390; report of, 381
- Committee on Work with Girls,—work of, 390
- Community responsibility for delinquency, 119
- Condit, Jessie P. (paper), 89
- Conferences (of National Probation Association), 390
- Connecticut,—city surveys, 21; courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 171; establishment of juvenile courts in, 18; Hartford's juvenile court and detention home, 21; state-wide probation, 15; studies of probation work in Bridgeport and New London, 387
- Cook, Professor Walter M. (quoted), 365
- Cook County Juvenile Court (*see* court, juvenile)
- Cooley, Edwin J. (case story), 251; work in General Sessions Court, 20
- Court and Pre-Court Work with Boys (paper), 202
- Court,—child, the family and the court, the, 102; court and pre-court work with boys, 202; rational treatment of juvenile delinquency, 361
- Courts, domestic relations,—development of, 15; discussion, 158; history of domestic relations courts, 103; in various cities, 104; organization of, 145; purpose of family court, 104; report of committee on, 152
- Court, juvenile,—broad jurisdiction of in Denver, 104; child, the family and the court, 102; development of, 15; in the south, 56; problems of the smaller cities of Tennessee, 179; report on progress of Children's Bureau plan for uniform juvenile court statistics, 168; use of an advisory group in court work with girls, 239
- Courts, Federal,—enactment of first probation law for, 16
- Crime,—child, the family, and the court, 102; cost, 64; discussion of, 87; effect of crime wave on legislation, 18; effect of education on, 66; needs, 25; old crime and new methods of dealing with it (paper), 62; treatment of juvenile delinquency, 361
- Criswell, Judge W. S. (paper), 202
- Dance Hall (*see* recreation)
- Delinquency,—community responsibility for delinquency, 105; court and pre-court work with boys, 202; rational treatment of juvenile, 361; young offender and the adult, 135
- Denver, Colorado (*see* Colorado)
- Detroit, Michigan (*see* Michigan)
- Developments in the Probation Field (paper), 14
- Devon, James (reference), 63
- District of Columbia,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 171; jurisdiction of courts, 109; missing girl, 225; robberies in Washington, 65
- Divorce (*see* family disruption)
- Dobbs, Harrison A. (paper), 216; (discussion), 381
- Domestic relations courts,—Committee of (reference), 107; work of, 389
- Domestic relations courts (*see* courts, domestic relations)
- Dopp, Edith (paper), 326
- Drown, Ralph E. (reference), 385, 386, 387
- Dummer, Mrs. W. F. (discussion), 241, 246, 249
- Employment Bureau of National Probation Association, 389
- England,—arrests for felonies compared with St. Louis, 73; jails and prisons, 69; murders and robberies in, 65; old methods of punishment, 68, 70

Experiment in Treatment of the
Predelinquent Boy, An (paper),
206

Fagan, Bernard J. (paper), 161;
(discussion), 87, 100

Family,—causes of disruption, 89;
child, the family and the court,
the, 102; parenthood, 166; quar-
rels, 214; training for families,
161

Family disruption,—causes of, 91;
child, the family and the court,
102; court proceedings, 113;
discussion on, 100; domestic rela-
tions courts, and the part they
play, 145; fundamental causes of,
89; training for families, 161

Farrell, Elizabeth (quotation), 195
Federal Census Bureau,—statistics
on commitments to prisons and
penitentiaries, 84

Federal Judge's View of Probation
(remarks), 379

Federal probation (*see* probation)

Fifty Years of Probation (re-
marks), 52

Fite, Beulah Wood (discussion),
240, 381

Flexner, Bernard (reference), 107,
155

Florida, court and pre-court work
with boys (Jacksonville), 202

For the reader's information, 3

France, murders and robberies, 65

Frankfurter, Felix (reference), 107

Freund, Dr. Ernst (reference), 107

Frost, Lincoln (discussion), 34, 101

Fuller, Rev. T. O. (paper), 342

Fundamental Causes of Family Dis-
ruption (paper), 89

George Wood (a case story), 251
Georgia, Department of Public
Welfare, 176

Gerlach, Edgar M. (discussion),
36, 309

Girls,—discussion on, 246; "Julia
A," a case story, 338; missing,
225; placement in industry, 232;
unadjusted girl in smaller cities
of Tennessee, 184; use of an
advisory group in court work
with, 235

Glueck, Dr. Sheldon (reference),
107

Greenville County (*see* South Caro-
lina)

Griggs, Rev. Sutton (paper), 352

Hallam, Oscar (quotation), 78
Hargrave, Ernest L. (discussion),
159

Harper, William J. (reference), 20

Hart, Henrietta (discussion), 100

Hartford, Connecticut (*see* Connec-
ticut)

Hawaii,—unified court, 105

Health,—a factor in delinquency,
197

Healy, Dr. William (quoted), 246,
249; (reference), 361

Hiller, Francis J. (reference), 384;
field service, 385

Hoffman, Judge Charles W.
(paper), 11, 145, 361; (discus-
sion), 100; (reference), 152, 155

Home,—defined, 343; lack of par-
ental restraint, 165; training, 137

Howard, John (quotation), 69

Hutzel, Eleanore (discussion), 247

Illinois,—civic information of chil-
dren in junior high school in
Chicago, 377; Domestic Relations
Court, Chicago, 104; murders in,
65; probation work with boys,
Cicero, 206; psychopathic labora-
tory in Chicago municipal court,
118; recreation in Chicago, 128;
(reference), 15
Importance of Probation (paper),
11

Indeterminate sentence, 79

Indiana,—adult probation law, 17;
courts in U. S. Children's Bureau
plan, 171; juvenile and adult prob-
ation in St. Joseph Circuit Court
of South Bend, 58; state probation
officer, 176; survey, 385

Industry,—placement of the girl in,
232

Inferiority complex, 373

Introducing the proceedings, 5

Iowa,—Courts in U. S. Children's
Bureau plan, 172; District Court,
Polk County, 104; jurisdiction of
district courts, 109

Jails and prisons,—conditions in,
77; in early England, 69; num-
ber of commitments, 84

Joyce, W. B. (quoted), 65

Judge,—requirements, 190

"Julia A" (a case story), 338

Juvenile Court Problems of the
Smaller Cities of Tennessee (pa-
per), 179

Juvenile court (*see* court, juvenile)

Juvenile Protective Association of
Chicago, Ill. (reference), 124, 127

Kelley, Judge Camille (refer-
ence), 10

Knight, Walter A. (discussion), 34

Lancaster, Pennsylvania (*see* Pennsylvania)

Laws (*see* legislation)

Legislation,—adult and juvenile probation laws in states, 15; child labor, 126; effect of crime wave on, 18; first probation law, 14; National Probation Association, 384; use of advisory committee in, 238

Lenroot, Katharine F. (paper), 102; (reference), 153, 155

Lewis, Judge Edwin O. (quotation), 78

London (*see* England)

Los Angeles (*see* California)

Lou, Dr. Herbert H. (reference), 236

Louisiana,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 172; State Board of Charities and Corrections, 176

Lowden, Judge Frank O. (reference), 72, 76

Lowrey, Dr. Lawson G. (reference), 138

Lowrie, Mrs. Kathleen J. (paper), 312

Lynching, 356

McAdoo, Judge William (quotation), 74

McChristie, Mary E. (paper), 152, 242; (discussion), 241

McDermott, (Mrs.) Lillian P. (paper), 235; (discussion), 239

Mahan, Jessie H. (case story), 338

Marriage,—success of, 145; training for families, 161

Mary (a case story), 312

Maryland,—Baltimore re-organizes probation department, 22; probation laws, 15; probation study in Baltimore, 386

Mary Manley (a case story), 326

Massachusetts,—boy delinquent in a Boston juvenile court, 319; courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 172; debt to, 12; district court, Springfield, 104; domestic relations court of Boston, 104; first probation law, 14; probation study in Boston, 387

Memphis, Tennessee (an address of welcome by Hon. Watkins Overton), 9

Mental conditions,—relation to delinquency, 198

Menzler, C. C. (paper), 55

Michigan,—child guidance clinic, 118; courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 172; minors and

juvenile court, 18; state wide probation, 15; success with missing girls in Detroit, 231

Milliken, Rhoda J. (paper), 225

Mimms, Thomas B. (discussion), 35

Minnesota,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 172

Minutes of business, 397

Missing Girl (paper), 225

Missouri,—arrests for felonies, 73; family court, St. Louis, 104; investigation in crime conditions, 72; probation officer in St. Louis, 17

Moore, Joel R. (discussion), 34, 310

Murders,—in various countries and cities of Europe and America, 65

Murphy, Judge Frank (paper), 24; (discussion), 34, 36

Murphy, Joseph P. (reference), 21; (discussion), 35, 310, 381

Murphy, L. F. (discussion), 310

National Association of Legal Aid Organizations (reference), 107

National Association of Visiting Teachers (reference), 135

National Bureau of Missing Persons (reference), 231

National Committee for Mental Hygiene,—books and pamphlets, 138; studies by, 187

National Crime Commission,—comment of sub-Committee of the medical aspects of crime on court clinics, 200; National Probation Association conference with, 383; (quotation), 72, 73; (reference), 80, 126; 363

National Desertion Bureau (reference), 107, 154

National Education Association (reference), 376

National Probation Association,—annual report for 1927-1928, 383; by-laws, 399; delegates to 22nd Annual Conference of the National Probation Association, (photograph), 6; employment bureau, 389; form of bequest, 4; membership dues, 3; minutes of business, 397; officers and board, 401; organization of, 16; outstanding events for 1927, 16; publications, 390; resolutions adopted by, 398; special committees, 403; survey of New Jersey, 21; treasurer's report, 395

Nebraska,—District Court, Douglas County, 104; district courts, 109

Negro Boy (paper), 342

Negro Today (paper), 352

- Negroes,—of today, 352; the boy, 342
- New Jersey,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 172; probation officers in, 21; probation study, 377; probation survey of, 21; (reference), 15
- New London, Connecticut (*see* Connecticut)
- New York,—arrests for robbery in Buffalo, 73; courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 172; family court, New York City, 104; first domestic relations court, 103; jurisdiction in New York city courts, 110; probation officers in Buffalo, 21; (reference), 15; robberies, 65; work in General Sessions Court, New York city, 20
- New York city (*see* New York)
- Non-support,—in family case work, 149
- Norfolk, Virginia (*see* Virginia)
- North Carolina,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 173; study of state program of social work, 387
- North Dakota,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 173
- Nutt, Alice Scott (paper), 168
- O'Brien, Jr., Frank J., (paper), 186
- Off Beaten Paths with the Problem Boy (paper), 216
- Ohio,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 173; creation of domestic relations courts in Columbus and Canton, 18; early capital punishment, 70; establishment of "family" court in Hamilton County (Cincinnati), and six other counties, 103; Juvenile Court in Cincinnati, 375; organization of domestic relations courts, 145; Probation Bureau of Ohio, Division of Charities, 176; progress under adult probation, 22; statistical studies, Cincinnati, 106
- Old Crime and New Methods of Dealing with It (paper), 62
- Opening Address, 9
- Oppenheimer, Nannie (report), 381
- Oppenheimer, Reuben (reference), 107, 155
- Organization of Domestic Relations Courts (paper), 145
- Parenthood (*see* families)
- Parole,—description of, 79; system, 30
- Parsons, Herbert C. (remarks), 52; (discussion), 158
- Parsons, Philip A. (paper), 37; (discussion), 158
- Patri, Angelo (reference), 138; (quotation), 143
- Pattee, Judge Cyrus E. (paper), 58
- Penitentiaries,—as training schools, 78
- Pennsylvania,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 174; early capital punishment in, 70; jails and penitentiaries, 78; municipal and district court, Philadelphia, 104; municipal courts, psychopathic clinic, 118; murders in Philadelphia, 65; probation survey, 21; (reference), 15; statistical studies, Philadelphia, 106; study of boys' home in Lancaster, 386; study of juvenile court in Pittsburgh, 386; study of families in Philadelphia, 111
- Philadelphia (*see* Pennsylvania)
- Pistols,—restrictions regarding, 74
- Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (*see* Pennsylvania)
- Placement of the Girl in Industry (paper), 232
- Playgrounds (*see* recreation)
- Police, statistics in regard to London and New York, 74; work with missing girls, 225
- Pound, Roscoe (reference), 62, 107
- Prentiss, Mark O. (quotation), 26
- Prisons (*see* jails and prisons)
- Probation,—at the crossroads (paper), 24; (discussion), 34; Cook County Juvenile Court work in Cicero, 206; developments in the field, 14; (discussion), 34; Federal, 388; Federal Judge's view of probation, 379; fifty years of, 52; importance of, 11; in boys' work, 202; in conjunction with suspended sentence, 80; job analysis, 41; needs in the South, 55; noteworthy records of special courts, 20; outstanding events for 1927, 16; proven values of, 58; states having, 15; success or failure in, 242; uniform courts and, 105
- Probation officers,—directory of, 19; excessive case loads, 112; number of in United States, 19; requirements for, 184, 191; salaries, 19, 112; selection and training of, 37; selection of, 32; state and city appointments of, 17
- Proceedings (of National Probation Association),—for the read-

er's information, 3; introducing, 5

Proven Values of Probation (paper), 58

Prudential Life Insurance Company (reference), 74

Psychological clinics, — adjusting treatment to diagnosis, 186

Publications of National Probation Association, 390

Rational Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency (paper), 361

Records and reports,—in domestic relations courts, 152; Children's Bureau plan, 168; Committee of Runaway Children, 381; group discussions, 381

Recreation,—effect on delinquency, 196; for Negro boy, 349; in Chicago, 128; work with boys, 204

Religion, in the prevention of crime, 66

Reports (*see* records and reports)

Report of the Committee on Domestic Relations Courts (paper), 152; (discussion), 158

Report of the Committee on Runaway Children, 381

Report on Progress of the Children's Bureau Plan for Uniform Juvenile Court Statistics (paper), 168

Reports of group discussions, 381

Rhode Island,—achievements in probation, 20; state wide probation, 15

Ringgold, Florida (paper), 179

Robberies,—in various countries and cities, 65

Robert White (a case story), 296; (discussion), 309

Robinson, Louis N. (quotation), 72, 78, 84, 86, 363

Roth, Frances L. (discussion), 35

Runaway children, Report of, 381

Russell, Charles Theodore (reference), 52

St. Louis (*see* Missouri)

Salaries, probation officers, 19

Salmon, Dr. Thomas (quoted), 370

Sanders, Claire M. (discussion), 246

Schools,—visiting teachers, 135; child and, 367, 372; delinquency and, 125; effect on delinquency, 195; value for Negroes, 347

Scotland,—murders, 65

Selection and Training of Probation Officers (paper), 37

Sex,—(discussion) on girls' cases, 246; factor in marital shipwrecks, 164

Sharpley, Percy C. (reference), 21

Shelly, Patrick J. (reference), 107

Smith, Hon. Alfred (reference), 76, 88

Smith, Mrs. M. B. (reference), 385, 386

Smith, Reginald H. (reference), 123

Smyth, Bernard T. J. (discussion), 159

Social Service Exchange,—in connection with domestic relations courts, 151

Social workers,—part in family life, 99

Some Fundamental Causes of Family Disruption (paper), 89; (discussion), 100

Sortor, Mrs. Addie F. (paper), 232

South Carolina,—juvenile and domestic relations courts in Greenville County, 17

Southern states (*see* United States)

Springfield, Massachusetts (*see* Massachusetts)

Statistics,—commitments to prisons and penitentiaries, 84; need for crime statistics, 78; report on progress of the Children's Bureau plan for uniform juvenile court, 168; studies as to families in Cincinnati and Philadelphia, 106

Stewart Twins (a case story), 334

Strobridge, Grace (discussion), 239

Supplee, Rosalie (discussion), 239

Surveys (of National Probation Association),—Baltimore, Md., 22; Connecticut, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 21; Los Angeles, Calif., 22

Suspended sentence, 80

Sutherland, E. H. (quotation), 64, 81, 126

Table of Contents, 7

Taft, Hon. William H. (quoted), 76, 151; (reference), 123

Tallman, Robert (discussion), 100

Tanner, Luther (discussion), 310

Tennessee,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 174; juvenile court problems of the smaller cities of, 179

Thom, Dr. Douglas A. (reference), 138

Training for Families (paper), 161; in childhood, 364

Treasurer's Report (National Probation Association), 395

Truancy, in Chicago, 127; in New York city, 195; responsibility of social agencies, 367; visiting teacher's viewpoint on, 135

Truitt, Dr. (quoted), 371

University of Chicago,—Committee on Registration of Social Statistics, 175; recreation study, 128
United States,—capital punishment, 70; probation needs in the south, 55

U. S. Army, police patrolmen, 74

U. S. Children's Bureau,—child, the family, and the court, 102; endorsement of, 158; report on progress of the Children's Bureau plan for uniform juvenile court statistics, 168

U. S. Civil Service Commission,—examinations of, 388

U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (reference), 123

Use of an Advisory Group in Court Work with Girls (paper), 235; (discussion), 239

Utah,—juvenile Court Commission, 176

Van Waters, Dr. Miriam (reference), 387

Venn, William H. (discussion), 35

Vermont,—state wide probation, 15

Virginia,—Department of Public Welfare, 175; educational advantages of those in Virginia State Penitentiary and in Who's Who, 66; "family" court, 104; observations on crime in Norfolk, 82; U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 174

Visiting teachers,—value of, 125; young offender and the adult, 135

Volunteers,—(discussion), 239; use of an advisory group in court work with girls, 235

Volz, Edward P. (discussions), 310, 311; (paper), 296

Waite, Hon. Edward F. (quotation), 103; (reference), 107

Washington,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 174

Washington, D. C. (*see* District of Columbia),

Welfare Council, New York city (reference), 123

West, Max W. (paper), 206

West Virginia,—adopts adult probation, 16

What is Success and What is Failure (paper), 242; (discussion), 246

Who's who in America, comparison of educational advantages with Virginia State Penitentiary, 66

Wile, Ira S. (quotation), 373

Wisconsin,—courts in U. S. Children's Bureau plan, 174

Wood, George (a case story), 251

Wright, J. F. (reference), 232

Wyoming,—only state without juvenile probation, 15

Young Offender and the Adult (paper), 135

Zunser, Charles (reference), 107; (quoted), 154